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U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE UN

REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1966

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LETTERS OF TRANSMITTAL

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit the annual report on United States participation in the United Nations for the calendar year 1966.

This report documents our continuing support for the United Nations, and our efforts to help it move toward the lofty goals set forth in its Charter.

Its pages reflect encouraging progress in the effort to further international peace and security, economic and social progress, human rights, and the rule of law among nations. They also reveal some discouraging setbacks.

One outstanding accomplishment during 1966 was the successful negotiation of the Outer Space Treaty, which bans weapons of mass destruction from space and calls for peaceful cooperation in its exploration and use. By unanimous vote, the General Assembly commended the Treaty and urged all nations to adhere to it.

Not all progress made by the United Nations was dramatic, or widely reported. Within the U.N. system—as elsewhere—disputes and crises make headlines, while the quiet works of peace go largely unnoted. Yet, day by day, in the capitals of more than a hundred nations and in thousands of villages around the world, U.N. representatives work with governments and peoples to carry on man's endless struggle against ignorance, hunger and disease. About 80 percent of the U.N. resources—not including those of international financing institutions—are used to promote economic and social development.

To improve these efforts, two particular U.N. activities during 1966 deserve special attention:

—The United Nations Development Program completed its first year of operation. Merging two previously separate agencies, the new organization is designed to provide a more uniform and effective U.N. program of economic assistance. It is becoming one of the key organizations for multilateral assistance.

—The General Assembly approved the charter of the U.N. Industrial Development Organization, which will help new nations create industries best suited to their development needs.

The General Assembly adopted two covenants to protect basic rights of mankind. One pertained to civil and political rights, the other to economic, social and cultural rights. Their passage completed a task which the United Nations set for itself in 1948 with its Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In addition, Ambassador Goldberg signed, on behalf of the United States, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. Our signature reflects this Government's commitment to promote the cause of human rights and the end of racial discrimination.

Race repression still exists, however; and during 1966 the United Nations was intensively concerned with its manifestation in southern Africa.

The United States proposed and supported measures designed to deal with the problem realistically, peacefully and with concern for the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

We endorsed the limited economic sanctions invoked by the Security Council against the rebel regime in Southern Rhodesia. This was an effort to deal in moderate but responsible fashion with an emerging threat to the peace in the region. It is this Government's hope that the cumulative effect of the sanctions—and of the aroused international opinion which produced them—will persuade the Rhodesian regime to return to constitutional rule.

The United States also supported responsible efforts to enable the people of the former Mandated Territory of South-West Africa to advance toward self-determination and freedom from race discrimination.

We did not, however, join in extreme proposals which we considered unrealistic and consequently harmful to the United Nations and the achievement of its human rights goals.

One great disappointment during the year was the failure to find a peaceful solution to the war in Viet-Nam.

The United States sought unsuccessfully to obtain action on the problem in the Security Council. It persistently encouraged the Secretary-General and member states to do what they could to bring about negotiations.

Those efforts have never abated. This nation continues to search for an honorable settlement in Viet-Nam. It continues to hope that the United Nations will make its contribution toward such a settlement.

Another setback was the failure to prevent the violence which later broke out in the Middle East.

Throughout 1966 there was evidence of increased tension in that part of the world. The Security Council met three times to consider terrorism and reprisal raids on Israel's borders. The United States maintained the position that the parties concerned should refrain from the use of violence, and instead use U.N. peacekeeping machinery to seek redress.

As the world was to learn later to its sorrow, counsels of moderation did not prevail.

Deep differences over the organization and financing of future peacekeeping operations continue. The constitutional and financial deadlock which had severely hampered the Organization during 1964 and 1965 no longer stood in the way of day-to-day operations, but little headway was made in settling financial problems for the future. The United States endeavored to seek agreement—and will continue to, for fundamental issues of peace are clearly involved.

On other financial matters, the United Nations made greater progress. In March, I directed the Secretary of State to help the Organization achieve the greatest possible efficiency in the planning and operation of its programs. Pointing out that the United States is the largest single contributor to U.N. programs, I said in that directive:

"If we are to be a constructive influence in helping to strengthen the international agencies so they can meet essential new needs, we must apply to them the same rigorous standards of program performance and budget review that we do to our own Federal programs."

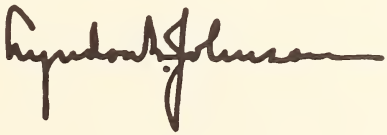
In line with this objective, the General Assembly approved recommendations to introduce a more effective use of funds and better coordination into its operation.

Our national interest and the high ideals of our tradition combine in American support of the United Nations.

Like other U.N. members, we seek to advance our own interests in this international forum.

But using the processes of persuasion, we also seek to foster that wide community of interest among nations which is man's best hope of establishing peace with honor and progress with justice.

We shall continue that search in the years ahead.



The White House,
November 15, 1967.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, October 9, 1967

THE PRESIDENT:

Under the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Congress) the President transmits annually to the Congress a report on United States participation in the United Nations. A report on the activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies for the year 1966 has therefore been prepared.

As in previous years, the report is a comprehensive survey of the Government's participation in the work of the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

I recommend that you approve the report for transmittal to the Congress.

Respectfully submitted,

NICHOLAS DEB. KATZENBACH

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House.

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Security Council
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Trusteeship Council
United Nations Secretariat

Maintenance of Peace and Security

Part One

Disarmament and Arms Control

Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC)

Two sessions of the ENDC were held in Geneva during 1966: the first from January 27 to May 10, and the second from June 14 to August 25. There was no change in the Committee's membership: Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, France, India, Italy, Mexico, Nigeria, Poland, Romania, Sweden, the U.S.S.R., the United Arab Republic, the United Kingdom, and the United States. France, however, has never participated in the Committee's discussions.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S MESSAGE

The basic U.S. position was set forth in President Johnson's January 27 message to the ENDC. The President proposed a seven-point arms control program: (1) a treaty to halt the spread of nuclear weapons; (2) application of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) or equivalent international safeguards to all transfers of nuclear materials for peaceful purposes to countries not possessing nuclear weapons; (3) strengthening international security arrangements in the United Nations and elsewhere to protect nations that decide not to develop nuclear weapons; (4) the extension of the limited test ban treaty to cover underground nuclear tests; (5) a verified cutoff in the production of fissionable materials for use in weapons as well as the transfer of large quantities of fissionable material to peaceful purposes with the demonstrated destruction of weapons to obtain this material; (6) a freeze on the numbers and characteristics of offensive and defensive strategic nuclear delivery vehicles; and (7) regional efforts to halt conventional arms races in various parts of the world.

NONPROLIFERATION TREATY

On March 21 the U.S. Representative, Adrian S. Fisher, Deputy Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, submitted several amendments to the draft nonproliferation treaty which the United States had presented to the ENDC on August 17, 1965. These amend-

ments were designed to clarify the obligations of states under the proposed treaty and to define several of its provisions more precisely. With these amendments, the U.S. Representative noted that the draft proposal of the United States met the general guidelines set forth by the 20th General Assembly in that it contained no "loopholes which might permit nuclear or non-nuclear powers to proliferate, directly or indirectly, nuclear weapons in any form." With regard to proposed NATO defense arrangements, he pointed out that although any alliance required consultation among its members on military plans, the United States retained a veto over the use of all American nuclear weapons wherever located and that none of the proposed arrangements in NATO involved the elimination of this veto. He also explained that all U.S. nuclear weapons were equipped with electro-mechanical locks to prevent their unauthorized use.

However, throughout the 1966 negotiations on this subject, the Soviet Representative continued to repeat the same objections to the U.S. draft which the U.S.S.R. had made during the 1965 ENDC session. The U.S.S.R. charged that because the U.S. draft would permit the establishment of a NATO multilateral nuclear force (MLF) or an Atlantic nuclear force (ANF), it contained an unacceptable "loophole" which would permit nonnuclear members of NATO, particularly the Federal Republic of Germany, to obtain "access" to nuclear weapons. The Soviet Representative also declared that the U.S. veto and its system of electro-mechanical locks did not constitute an adequate protection for the U.S.S.R. and other states against the possible misuse of nuclear weapons. On the other hand, the Soviet Representative refused to discuss the type of control exercised by the Soviet Union in its own nuclear defense arrangements with its European allies.

On August 9 the U.S. Representative called attention to the need to include in an effective nonproliferation treaty provisions to cover the problem of developing nuclear explosive devices for peaceful purposes. He pointed out that such devices are virtually indistinguishable from nuclear weapons and that their development even for peaceful purposes would also give a nation a nuclear-weapon capability. If and when peaceful nuclear explosive devices become technically and economically feasible, he suggested, the nuclear-weapon powers could make them available to other countries under international observation. Such a system would prevent peaceful nuclear energy programs from becoming a cloak for nuclear weapons development.

On August 19 the Non-Aligned Eight of the ENDC—Brazil, Burma, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden, and the United Arab Republic—summed up their views on the subject of nonproliferation in a joint memorandum. They reaffirmed their support of the 20th General Assembly's resolution on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and again stressed that a nonproliferation treaty should be "coupled with or followed by" tangible nuclear disarmament measures on the part of nuclear-weapon states. In this connection, they recommended agreement on such measures as a comprehensive nuclear test ban, a cutoff in fissionable materials production, a freeze on strategic delivery vehicles, and measures which would provide "assurance of the security of nonnuclear-weapon States." However, both the United States and the Soviet Union maintained that, while other arms control agreements were urgently needed, the conclusion of an otherwise acceptable nonproliferation treaty should not be delayed or be made dependent upon such agreements.

SECURITY ASSURANCES FOR NONNUCLEAR NATIONS

In his January message to the ENDC urging the strengthening of international arrangements to protect the security of nonnuclear-weapon states, President Johnson had reaffirmed his previous pledge that such nations would have "our strong support against threats of nuclear blackmail."

Soviet Premier Kosygin on February 1 outlined a different approach to this problem. He declared that the Soviet Union was willing to include in a nonproliferation treaty a clause prohibiting "the use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States parties to the treaty which have no nuclear weapons in their territory."

Although the ENDC did not undertake an intensive examination of these proposals, all members of the Committee recognized the need for steps which would assure the security of states not possessing nuclear weapons. The Italian Representative stressed the complexity of this issue. He noted that the security of some nonnuclear-weapon states was already protected by their alliance arrangements with nuclear-weapon powers. Moreover, "unfortunately, one may doubt that all nuclear countries without exception would agree to participate" in a nonproliferation treaty. Therefore, he suggested that the question of security assurances might best be resolved outside the treaty and urged the Soviet Union to give the type of unilateral pledge already offered by President Johnson. In this way, he said, the ENDC could arrive at "a harmonious system of guarantees which . . . could not in the least affect the status of the non-aligned."

COMPREHENSIVE NUCLEAR TEST BAN

During the 1963 nuclear test ban negotiations, the United States and the U.S.S.R. had not been able to agree on the number of on-site inspections which would be necessary to verify the observance of a complete suspension of nuclear testing. As a result, the treaty signed that year banned only tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water. Underground testing was not prohibited. After the treaty was signed, the Soviet Union withdrew its previous offer of two to three on-site inspections a year to check on underground explosions. It has since taken the position that national detection capabilities are sufficient to guard against any violation of a comprehensive test ban and make on-site or other international inspection procedures unnecessary.

In his 1966 message, the President noted that the dangers of proliferation would be greatly reduced by extending the limited test ban treaty to cover underground nuclear explosions. He declared that the United States would require "only that number and kind of inspections which modern science shows to be necessary to assure that the treaty is being faithfully observed." He also called on all nations to provide the ENDC with scientific information on their seismic detection and identification capabilities.

The Swedish Representative suggested a system of "verification by challenge." Under this system, a nation which suspected another of secretly conducting an underground test could ask for proof that no test had in fact taken place. If the alleged violator could not or would not provide satisfactory information on the suspected event, the challenging state would be free to withdraw from the agreement.

The U.S. Representative cited several problems raised by this proposal. He pointed out that even with the most advanced seismic detection methods there would be about 45 underground events each year in the Soviet Union alone which could not be identified either as natural tremors or as manmade explosions. He questioned whether the Soviet Union

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would be likely to provide scientific data on such events when it had consistently opposed all efforts to establish a system of international seismic data exchange. He also reminded members of the ENDC of U.S. opposition to an unverified moratorium on all testing but indicated that the United States would give careful study to the idea of using "verification by challenge" to monitor a temporary, trial suspension of underground tests.

The U.S.S.R. rejected the idea of "verification by challenge" because it continued to maintain that the only acceptable plan for prohibiting underground tests was one established on the basis of national systems of detection.

In a joint memorandum of August 17 the Non-Aligned Eight expressed their strong support for a comprehensive test ban treaty and urged the nuclear-weapon powers to consider the following suggestions: (1) immediate agreement on a suspension of all testing above a certain seismic level or threshold, with a temporary moratorium on testing below that level, pending the conclusion of a comprehensive agreement; (2) international cooperation in the exchange of seismic data; (3) "verification by challenge"; (4) the establishment by the United Nations of a list of impartial inspectors to police a test ban agreement; and (5) a neutral scientific panel to begin work on the problem of identifying seismic events. Pending conclusion of a treaty, they renewed their demand for immediate steps to discontinue all remaining nuclear tests.

CUTOFF AND TRANSFER OF FISSIONABLE MATERIALS

On March 8 the U.S. Representative repeated an earlier proposal by the United States for a halt in the production of fissionable materials for use in weapons, the destruction of agreed numbers of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons, and the transfer to peaceful uses of the fissionable materials obtained from the destruction of these weapons. Alternatively, the United States indicated its readiness either to conclude a production cutoff agreement alone, without transferring materials to peaceful uses, or to take part in a reciprocal U.S.–U.S.S.R. plant-by-plant shutdown of production facilities if the Soviets preferred this procedure to a complete cutoff.

Most nonaligned members of the ENDC supported the idea of a production cutoff. The Swedish Representative declared that the cutoff was "most germane to the non-proliferation issue" and suggested that it could be related to the entry into force of the nonproliferation treaty. However, the U.S.S.R. refused to consider any cutoff and transfer agreement. It charged that the United States merely wished to replace obsolete nuclear weapons with more modern types and that these U.S. proposals would not eliminate the nuclear threat.

FREEZE ON STRATEGIC NUCLEAR DELIVERY VEHICLES

The U.S. Representative also renewed an earlier offer to freeze the numbers and characteristics of offensive and defensive strategic nuclear delivery vehicles and again declared that the United States was ready to explore a reduction in the number of such vehicles if progress could be made on a freeze. Such a freeze would provide a way to halt the nuclear arms race and, because it would cover both offensive and defensive systems, it could serve to prevent a technological breakthrough that might lead to a destabilization in the nuclear arms race.

However, the Soviet Representative declined to discuss the freeze proposal in any detail, claiming it merely reflected an overproduction by the United States of nuclear delivery vehicles and was not a true disarmament measure.

REGIONAL LIMITATIONS ON CONVENTIONAL ARMS RACES

On April 19 the U.S. Representative, William C. Foster, Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, outlined several general principles which could be used to develop effective regional programs to limit the spread of conventional arms. These included (1) that the initiative for such programs should come from the regions concerned; (2) that both domestic production and the importation of prohibited military equipment should be banned; and (3) that suppliers should agree to respect regional arrangements. He declared that if programs of this type could be developed and assurance given that they would be observed, the United States was ready to respect them.

Discussion of this topic was not extensive. The Nigerian Representative declared, however, that it was particularly meaningful for African countries. While most African states were waging a "grim battle against poverty," he noted that some were "actively engaged in the arms race and creating as a result an atmosphere of fear and insecurity."

CONCLUSION OF ENDC DISCUSSIONS

Although no specific agreements were reached during the 1966 ENDC meetings, the depth and seriousness with which the question of nonproliferation was considered gave rise to hopes by the close of the Committee's deliberations that further progress would be possible on a treaty to halt the spread of nuclear weapons. The U.S. Representative, Mr. Fisher, said that, "the United States believes . . . we have made substantive progress in clarifying and defining the area in which agreement might be found. This Committee has made progress in considering and moving towards resolving issues which are essential to the concluding of a non-proliferation treaty." Other ENDC members echoed these sentiments and urged both the United States and the U.S.S.R. to continue their efforts to narrow the differences between their draft treaties.

General Assembly Consideration

With the opening of the 21st General Assembly on September 21, the focus of disarmament discussions shifted from Geneva to New York. As in previous years, the Assembly devoted considerable time to the discussion of arms control matters. Six agenda items dealing with disarmament were assigned to the First (Political and Security) Committee, which devoted the bulk of its 9-week session to their consideration.

U.S. STATEMENT

At the opening of the Committee's work on October 20, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, reviewed the prospects for progress which the United States hoped soon would be realized in the disarmament field. He said that although the 1966 ENDC discussions had not produced any final agreements, they nevertheless had created "a more hopeful prospect for concluding a non-proliferation treaty." He noted that private discussions on this subject were taking place between the United States and the Soviet Union and declared that although important differences remain "the businesslike manner in which they have begun is a good augury."

The U.S. Representative repeated the proposals which the United States had urged at Geneva for a halt in the production of fissionable mate-

rials for weapons use, as well as a freeze on the number and characteristics of strategic nuclear delivery vehicles. He reaffirmed that an adequately verified comprehensive test ban remained high on the list of U.S. disarmament priorities and welcomed efforts to develop international seismic cooperation in order to narrow the gap between U.S. and U.S.S.R. positions concerning verification arrangements.

NONPROLIFERATION

The Committee's debate on nonproliferation began with its consideration of a draft resolution submitted by the U.S.S.R. entitled, "Renunciation by States of Actions Hampering the Conclusion of an Agreement on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons." The Soviet Representative declared that at a time when there was nearly unanimous agreement on the urgency of a treaty to halt the spread of these weapons, it was important that members be encouraged to avoid any action which might interfere with treaty negotiations. The United States immediately cosponsored the draft resolution. The U.S. Representative pointed out that "all should refrain from any action that could jeopardize this great treaty project—from arrangements contrary to the spirit of the treaty; from raising extraneous political issues as obstacles; and from delaying tactics of any kind." There was widespread support for this resolution, which was eventually cosponsored by 40 states. On November 2 it was adopted by a vote of 100 (U.S.) to 1(Albania), with 1 abstention (Cuba). It was approved in plenary on November 4 by 110 affirmative votes, again with only Albania opposing and Cuba abstaining.

On October 27, 32 Latin American, Asian, and African countries tabled a draft resolution calling upon the ENDC to give "high priority" to the question of halting the spread of nuclear weapons. The ensuing debate on this draft ranged over all the major aspects of the nonproliferation problem. Although welcoming evidence of a narrowing of differences between the United States and the Soviet Union, many representatives from nonaligned states cautioned that the worldwide nature of the nonproliferation problem made it imperative that all interested states should have the opportunity to make known their views before any final agreement was reached on a treaty. They placed great stress on the need for balanced obligations between those states with and those without nuclear weapons, declaring that the sacrifice which the latter would make in forswearing the development of nuclear weapons should be matched by measures of nuclear disarmament on the part of the former. The possible effect of a nonproliferation agreement upon peaceful nuclear energy programs was also discussed, and the Indian Representative declared that any prohibition on the development of peaceful nuclear explosive devices would place harmful limits upon the economic and technological growth of the states without nuclear weapons.

On November 9 the U.S. Representative, Mr. Foster, summarized the views of the United States on these questions. Agreeing that a nonproliferation treaty should embody a balance of obligations, he pointed out that these should be "practical and directly relevant to the primary objective" of halting the further spread of nuclear weapons. "We should therefore not permit the well-known obstacles to rapid agreement on other measures—no matter how important these may be—to obstruct progress toward our priority objective, a non-proliferation treaty." He pledged that the United States would continue to explore every opportunity for agreements on other arms control measures.

Speaking to the issue raised by India on peaceful nuclear explosive devices, the U.S. Representative

pointed out that such devices were indistinguishable from nuclear weapons and that to permit their development by nonnuclear-weapon states would be "tantamount to saying that we should agree to a treaty which contains a major loophole." In order to assure that such states could have the full benefit of any technological advance realized by the production of nuclear weapons, the United States had proposed that nuclear-weapon states make available to all other states nuclear explosive devices for peaceful programs (see page 2). He agreed with the emphasis by many on the need for a worldwide system of safeguards. The United States believed that all states should give serious consideration to the benefits which would be gained by placing their entire peaceful nuclear programs under the safeguards system of the IAEA.

The United States could not support one aspect of the 32-power draft which urged the ENDC to consider ways in which the security of nonnuclear-weapon states could be protected and which cited the formula which Soviet Premier Kosygin had suggested on February 1 in his message to the ENDC (see page 3). The Italian Representative criticized the Kosygin formula because it failed to offer positive assurances to nonnuclear states. The Canadian Representative also pointed out that such states would not be protected against threats by a nuclear-weapon state not a party to a nonproliferation agreement. Further, the Kosygin suggestion contained no provisions for verification. The U.S. Representative agreed with these criticisms and said that if the Committee wished to recommend particular proposals for study by the ENDC, it should also refer in detail to other suggestions, such as President Johnson's offer of support for any nonnuclear-weapon state threatened by nuclear blackmail. He pointed out that the United States had on several occasions expressed its readiness to consider action by the United Nations on this question.

On November 10 the Committee, at the request of the United States, voted separately on this paragraph, approving it 98 to 0, with 4 abstentions (U.S.). The resolution as a whole was then adopted by a vote of 103 (U.S.) to 1 (Albania), with 2 abstentions (Cuba and France). In plenary, this draft was made section A of an omnibus nonproliferation resolution and was approved on November 17, 97 (U.S.) to 2 (Albania and Central African Republic), with 3 abstentions (Congo (Kinshasa), Iceland, and France).

Pakistan submitted a resolution on October 31 under which the General Assembly would convene a conference of nonnuclear-weapon states not later than July 1968 to consider various nonproliferation questions relating to the security of nonnuclear nations and the use of nuclear devices for peaceful purposes. The Pakistani Representative urged such a conference as an effective forum for smaller states to put forward their views on subjects affecting their security and economic development, but the U.S. Representative thought the objectives of such a conference would be better served in existing forums. He said it would be unfortunate if the conclusion of a nonproliferation treaty were delayed by a commitment to convene such a conference. The Committee approved the Pakistani proposal on November 10 by a vote of 46 to 1 (India), with 56 abstentions (U.S. and U.S.S.R.). It became section B of the omnibus resolution and was adopted in plenary on November 17 by a vote of 48 to 1 (India), with 59 abstentions (U.S. and U.S.S.R.).

GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

Debate on the question of general and complete disarmament brought forth a number of resolutions and two efforts by Communist countries

to condemn U.S. policies in Europe and Asia.

On November 7 Hungary submitted a draft resolution demanding strict compliance with the Geneva Protocol of June 17, 1925, which prohibited the use of asphyxiating, poisonous, and other gases as well as bacteriological methods of warfare. The resolution also condemned any action aimed at the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons and declared that the use of such weapons to destroy human beings or the means of their existence constituted an international crime. The Hungarian Representative made clear that his draft was directly aimed at the United States. In a bitter tirade, he attacked the United States for using riot-control agents and herbicides in Viet-Nam and charged that their use verged on genocide.

Shortly after the tabling of the Hungarian draft, Poland and the Ukrainian S.S.R. submitted another draft demanding that states refrain from sending aircraft carrying nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on flights beyond their national frontiers. The Polish Representative left no doubt that he sought the Committee's condemnation of U.S. and allied defense arrangements in Europe.

On November 14 the U.S. Representative pointed out that the sponsors of these two resolutions were obviously seeking to utilize the Committee's deliberations for "a wholly unnecessary and unhelpful regression into past, unlamented" cold war polemics. Both drafts, he said, had to be recognized as pure propaganda which disregarded the serious and proper work of the Committee. Turning to the Hungarian resolution, he pointed out that the Geneva Protocol was intended to apply to lethal gases and had nothing whatever to do with tear gas, a common riot-control agent used by most police forces. Herbicides were the same materials used in most countries to clear weeds and control vegetation and could in no sense be described as a bacteriological weapon. The U.S. Representative declared that the United States had never engaged in bacteriological warfare nor in gas warfare, except when forced to do so in retaliation during World War I. He pointed out that, although not a party to that agreement, the United States fully observes the principles of the Geneva Protocol.

With regard to the Polish-Ukrainian resolution, the U.S. Representative said that all military overflights by the United States were undertaken with the permission of the countries concerned. Further, elaborate precautions were taken by the United States to assure that any accidents which occurred involving aircraft carrying nuclear weapons could not result in a nuclear explosion or any contamination or health hazard. The effectiveness of these precautions had been amply demonstrated in connection with the unfortunate crash of a U.S. aircraft carrying nuclear weapons in Spain early in 1966.

After several days of discussion during which other delegates made clear their desire to avoid a sterile propaganda debate, Poland, complaining that "extraneous matters" impugning its motives had been introduced into the debate, indicated that the draft which it cosponsored would not be pressed to a vote.

On November 22 Hungary accepted African amendments to its draft resolution replacing its operative paragraphs by new sections which (1) demanded strict and absolute compliance with the Geneva Protocol, (2) deplored the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons, and (3) invited all states to accede to the Protocol. However, these changes did not make the resolution acceptable to the Western Powers.

On November 23 Canada, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States tabled several additional amendments which replaced the first two points above with a single pro-

vision calling for strict observance of the objectives of the Protocol and condemning all actions contrary to these objectives. Over Hungarian opposition, the Western amendments were accepted and the revised resolution was adopted, 101 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions (Cuba, France, and Gabon).

Referring to the invitation for accession to the Protocol, the U.S. Representative made clear that U.S. support for this resolution was not to be interpreted as an indication of intention to ratify the Geneva Protocol, although he again stressed that the United States supported its principles and objectives. On December 5, by a vote of 91 (U.S.) to 0, with 4 abstentions, plenary approval was given to the amended draft, which became one section of the Assembly's omnibus resolution on general and complete disarmament.

The Assembly added two other sections to this omnibus resolution. On November 23 the First Committee voted 102 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions (Cuba and France), to approve a nonaligned draft requesting the ENDC to pursue new efforts to achieve "substantial progress" on an agreement for general and complete disarmament. This resolution was approved in plenary on December 5 by a vote of 98 (U.S.) to 0, with Cuba and France abstaining.

The Committee also gave unanimous approval on November 23 to a revised Polish resolution requesting the Secretary-General to prepare for presentation at the 22d General Assembly a report on, "the effects of the possible use of nuclear weapons and on the security and economic implications for States of the acquisition and further development of these weapons." The Secretary-General had recommended such a study in his report to the 21st Assembly. This draft was also unanimously approved in plenary on December 5.

Finally, Iran, Morocco, Tunisia, and Tanzania requested the Committee's approval of a resolution on the utilization of savings from disarmament for economic development. At the request of several delegations that thought this subject more properly deserved consideration by the Second (Economic and Financial) Committee, the cosponsors did not press for action on it.

THE SUSPENSION OF NUCLEAR TESTS

The Committee began its debate on the question of suspending nuclear and thermonuclear tests on November 17. Representatives of the Non-Aligned Eight of the ENDC tabled a draft resolution which requested the ENDC to elaborate "without further delay" a treaty banning underground nuclear tests, expressed the hope that states would contribute to an effective program of international seismic data exchange, and called for the suspension of nuclear weapons tests in all environments. In presenting this resolution on behalf of the Eight, Sweden reviewed its earlier suggestion for a comprehensive test ban treaty based upon "verification by challenge" (see page 3) and called for the establishment of a seismic detection "club" which would provide a forum for the international exchange of information on seismic research and detection programs.

The U.S. Representative agreed that a comprehensive treaty would be a major step toward ending the arms race. However, the primary obstacle to such an agreement was the inability to agree on what would constitute an effective system for verifying compliance with a treaty of this kind. Despite the immense amount of research which the United States had undertaken on the problem of seismic detection, it was clear that national means alone were not sufficient to guarantee that the provisions of a comprehensive treaty would be observed. Therefore, the United States continued to believe that some on-site inspections would be necessary to insure adequate verification. The U.S. Representative indicated

that the United States would continue its support for ways of improving the collection and dissemination of seismic data, including the Swedish "detection club" proposal.

On November 24 the First Committee adopted the draft resolution by a vote of 72 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention (France). In an explanation of vote, the U.S. Representative reminded the Committee of U.S. opposition to any unverified moratorium on underground testing and said that the United States supported that part of the resolution calling for a suspension of tests on the understanding that any such suspension would be pursuant to an adequately verified treaty. On December 5 the General Assembly approved this resolution by a vote of 100 (U.S.) to 1 (Albania), with 2 abstentions (Cuba and France).

PROPOSAL FOR "BAN THE BOMB" CONFERENCE

On November 24 the Committee began consideration of an item, originally proposed by Ethiopia in 1965 and carried over from the previous Assembly, entitled "The Question of Convening a Conference for the Purpose of Signing a Convention on the Prohibition of the Use of Nuclear and Thermonuclear Weapons." Ethiopia, India, Nigeria, the United Arab Republic, and Yugoslavia requested the Committee's approval of a resolution asking "the forthcoming World Disarmament Conference to give serious consideration" to this question. The Ethiopian Representative explained that because it had not proved possible to make headway with his government's original proposal, its supporters had decided to refer it to the disarmament conference called for in a resolution of the 20th Assembly. The five-power draft was adopted by the Committee on November 28 by a vote of 58 to 0, with 22 abstentions (U.S.). It was approved in plenary on December 5 by a vote of 80 to 0, with 23 abstentions (U.S.).

FOREIGN MILITARY BASES

In his general debate speech on September 23 Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko requested the Assembly's consideration of "the elimination of foreign military bases in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America." The removal of such bases, he declared, "would help reduce international tension and remove one of the sources of conflict which imperil peace." On November 24 the Soviet Representative charged that U.S. and allied bases in these areas were "ominous hot-beds of war and tension" and that they provided the United States with facilities from which to conduct "barbarous air raids" on countries in Southeast Asia.

In reply to these charges, the U.S. Representative pointed out that all U.S. military facilities abroad were established and operated without exception in accordance with agreements negotiated with the host countries. All member states had the right under article 51 of the Charter to undertake individual and collective self-defense efforts and the Soviet resolution sought to impede the sovereign right of states to conclude international agreements for their own security. It was well known, he continued, that the establishment of certain U.S. bases was a direct result of Communist threats and aggressive actions following World War II. The resolution was obviously designed by the U.S.S.R. to force a shift of the present military balance in its favor.

The ensuing debate demonstrated that regardless of their views on the issue of foreign bases, many states were opposed to any action which would interfere with their right to enter into any international agreement they chose. On November 30 India, Yugoslavia, and the United Arab Republic tabled a resolution re-

questing the ENDC to consider this subject. That same day the Committee adopted the three-power draft by a vote of 99 to 0, with 10 abstentions (U.S.), and decided not to vote on the U.S.S.R. resolution. The three-power resolution was approved in plenary on December 5, 94 to 0, with 10 abstentions (U.S.)

U.S. SAFEGUARDING DEMONSTRATION

In developing its proposal for a cutoff in the production of fissionable materials for weapons use, the United States had studied various ways of monitoring a shutdown reactor to insure that it could not be used clandestinely. On November 16, one method of safeguarding the proposed cutoff by using neutron-sensitive tapes was demonstrated on a shutdown reactor at the Atomic Energy Commission's Hanford Plant near Richland, Washington. Delegates from 51 countries and several international organizations witnessed this demonstration as guests of the U.S. Government.

SCHEDULE FOR THE RESUMED ENDC

On December 13, the Representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union, acting in their capacity as cochairmen of the ENDC, announced their agreement to reconvene that body on February 21, 1967.

Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament

At the various U.N. forums in which it was considered much less attention was given in 1966 than in previous years to the subject of the economic and social consequences of disarmament.

ECOSOC CONSIDERATION

There were very few speakers on this item at the 41st session of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in July. Attention focused on the Secretary-General's report which contained replies from 31 member governments to the questionnaire on national research studies that had been prepared by the Inter-Agency Committee on the Conversion to Peaceful Needs of the Resources Released by Disarmament, and circulated in late 1965.

The U.S. Representative at the 41st session stressed the benefits derived from national and U.N. research activities and called upon the Secretary-General to continue and to expand his coordinating efforts in this field. He emphasized the waste of resources in the conventional arms race and urged the exploration of regional approaches to divert resources from military programs to economic and social development. To illustrate the magnitude of such resources, he told the Council that a study by the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, released early in 1966, indicated that the developing countries had spent an estimated $16 billion in 1964 for their total military establishments, even though their average annual income per capita was less than $150. (By geographic area these expenditures were estimated as follows: Europe, $2.5 billion; Latin America, $1.7 billion; Far East, $6.8–9.8 billion—of which $4–7 billion was by mainland China; Near East, $1.4 billion; South Asia, $2.1 billion; and Africa, $0.5 billion.)

At the end of a relatively brief discussion, the Council, acting unanimously, took note of the Secretary-General's report and accepted his proposal that he report biennially to ECOSOC in the future.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

The discussion of the several aspects of the disarmament prob-

lem in the General Assembly's First Committee at its 21st session included numerous emphatic, though relatively brief, statements lamenting the enormous amount of resources being spent on armaments rather than on economic and social development in the developing areas. Many representatives furnished estimates of world annual military expenditures and some cited the $130 billion for 1964 contained in the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency research study. Delegates from the developing countries, in particular, stressed the drain of these expenditures on resources needed to combat hunger, illness, and illiteracy throughout the world. Eastern European representatives, however, did not discuss the alternate use of resources to as great an extent as in the past.

Consideration in the First Committee of a draft resolution, introduced by Iran and others, primarily appealing for the allocation of a small proportion of military expenditures to further the campaign against world illiteracy and inviting all governments to forego any future increase in military expenditures and to allocate the savings to similar purposes, was postponed *sine die* at the request of the sponsors.

A somewhat similar draft resolution which the Iranians had prepared for the Second (Economic and Financial) Committee was informally discussed prior to formal Committee consideration of this agenda item. Rather than oppose such a draft resolution, as the Soviets did, the United States worked closely with the Iranians to develop an acceptable draft. However, a provision in the proposed resolution calling for study of the use of armed forces for development purposes was not well received by some of the developing countries. Faced with this disinterest and Soviet opposition, the Iranians decided not to table the draft resolution during the 21st session.

There was no discussion in the Second Committee of the agenda item on conversion to peaceful needs of the resources released by disarmament. On December 6, on recommendation of the Second Committee, the General Assembly adopted without objection the resolution proposed by ECOSOC that future reports on this topic be submitted biennially. The Secretary-General will not be expected to report again until 1968, "unless developments warrant additional reports."

DISCUSSION IN OTHER BODIES

Only five representatives (two from Western and three from Eastern Europe) discussed the subject during the April meeting of the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE). Their brief presentations followed consideration of the Executive Secretary's two-part report. The first part, his progress report on an investigation of the impact of demobilization on civilian employment in the ECE region, noted that the information received during the past year was insufficient. He expressed the hope that receipt of additional data from member governments during the coming year would permit completion of the study. The second part, a report by the International Labor Organization, discussed the replies received from 20 countries to a questionnaire on the training and retraining aspects of disarmament.

In November the 14th General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) adopted a resolution authorizing its Director General to cooperate with the United Nations and other bodies in the study of the economic and social consequences of disarmament. This was similar to UNESCO action in previous years.

Outer Space

In 1966 the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space recorded important accomplishments in three fields. Agreement was reached on a "Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies." The General Assembly, as a result of the Committee's recommendation, decided to hold a U.N. conference in 1967 on practical benefits and cooperation in space. Finally, the work of the Space Committee's Scientific and Technical Subcommittee produced a number of useful recommendations.

Outer Space Treaty

In only 7 months, the U.N. Outer Space Committee's Legal Subcommittee reached agreement on broad principles for a treaty governing activities in outer space and on celestial bodies. Discussion began May 7, 1966, when President Johnson issued a statement outlining the essential elements of a treaty on the exploration of celestial bodies. The President said:

> Just as the United States is striving to help achieve peace on this earth, we want to do what we can to ensure that explorations of the moon and other celestial bodies will be for peaceful purposes only. We want to be sure that our astronauts and those of other nations can freely conduct scientific investigations of the moon. We want the results of these activities to be available for all mankind.
>
> . . . . .
>
> I am convinced that we should do what we can—not only for our generation, but for future generations—to see to it that serious political conflicts do not arise as a result of space activities. I believe that the time is ripe for action. . . .

In addition to suggesting a number of new elements, President Johnson's proposal drew on the experience of the Antarctic Treaty and on two General Assembly resolutions adopted in 1963. One was the "Declaration of Legal Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space"; the other called upon all states to refrain from stationing weapons of mass destruction in outer space.

PRELIMINARY DISCUSSIONS

On May 9 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, requested the U.N. Secretary-General to circulate President Johnson's May 7 proposal as a U.N. document and asked the Chairman of the U.N. Outer Space Committee to call an early meeting of the Legal Subcommittee. The United States began consultations with the Soviet Union and other members of the Space Committee on May 11 and provided a 12-point outline of the U.S. proposals for a treaty.

On May 31, without mentioning President Johnson's proposal, Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko sent to the U.N. Secretary-General a letter containing a number of similar proposals and requesting inclusion in the 21st General Assembly agenda of an item on conclusion of a treaty on celestial bodies. The U.S. Representative welcomed what appeared to be "an affirmative interest in President Johnson's recent proposal" but hoped "that discussion of such a treaty will not be delayed until the next General Assembly."

On June 16 both the United States and the U.S.S.R. presented copies of proposed draft treaties to the United Nations—the United States to the Chairman of the Outer Space Committee, the U.S.S.R. to the U.N. Secretary-General. At the same time the

United States suggested that the Legal Subcommittee meet July 12.

The Soviet draft treaty, unlike its proposal of May 31, contained a number of provisions relating to outer space as a whole as well as to celestial bodies; most of them were drawn from the 1963 Declaration of Legal Principles. Later in June the Soviet Union and other members agreed that the Legal Subcommittee should meet in Geneva on July 12.

THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS

Ambassador Goldberg headed the U.S. delegation to the Legal Subcommittee, and Ambassador Platon D. Morozov was the chief representative of the U.S.S.R. Negotiations were pursued through private conversations as well as in formal and working group meetings of the Subcommittee. When the Geneva meeting recessed on August 4, agreement had been reached on the following points for a draft treaty:

—Outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies, shall be the province of all mankind.

—There shall be freedom of exploration and use of outer space and celestial bodies for all states on a basis of equality.

—Man's activities in outer space and on celestial bodies are subject to international law, including the U.N. Charter.

—Claims of sovereignty and national appropriation are barred. The moon and other celestial bodies shall be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

—No party will orbit any nuclear or other weapons of mass destruction or station such a weapon on a celestial body.

—There shall be an unconditional obligation to help and to return astronauts promptly and safely if they land elsewhere than planned, and to exchange information relating to astronaut safety.

—There shall be freedom of scientific reseach in outer space, and international cooperation to that end shall be assured.

—Parties to the treaty shall follow procedures calling for the avoidance of harmful contamination and for international consultation in connection with potentially harmful space experiments.

—A launching state shall be internationally liable for damages caused by its space vehicles.

—A launching state shall retain jurisdiction over its nationals in space and shall retain property rights to its space vehicles. Objects landing outside the launching state shall be returned to the owner.

—A launching state is responsible for the space activities of its nationals and of the international organizations in which it participates.

The Geneva meeting also succeeded in narrowing differences on other treaty provisions.

THE NEW YORK NEGOTIATIONS

The Legal Subcommittee resumed negotiations in New York on September 12 but reached no further agreement before the session ended on September 16. Informal discussions continued, however, and by December 8 agreement had been reached on the remaining points to be included in the treaty, as follows:

—In order to verify the peaceful uses of the moon and other celestial bodies, open access to all stations, installations, equipment, and space vehicles on these bodies is guaranteed, subject only to reasonable notice to insure safety precautions.

—Military bases, installations, and fortifications on the moon and on other celestial bodies are forbidden, as is the testing of weapons and the conducting of military maneuvers on celestial bodies. The use of military personnel, equipment, and facilities for scientific research or other peace-

ful purposes on celestial bodies is not prohibited.

—A request for tracking stations in the territory of another party is to be considered on a basis of equality. A party is not obliged to grant such a request, however.

—The treaty recognizes that international organizations will be conducting space activities and that the provisions of the treaty will apply to them.

On December 8, 1966, President Johnson announced agreement on a "Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies." He termed the treaty the "most important arms control development since the limited test ban treaty of 1963."

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

On December 17 the First (Political and Security) Committee of the U.N. General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution cosponsored by 43 member states, including the United States and the U.S.S.R. This resolution commended the draft outer space treaty, requested the three depositary governments—the United States, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.S.R.—to open the treaty for signature as soon as possible, and expressed hope for the widest possible adherence to the treaty. The resolution was adopted in plenary by acclamation on December 19.

Commenting on the resolution December 17, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, said:

> We of the United States regard this treaty as an important step toward peace. We do not wish to exaggerate its significance, but neither do we underrate it. It will greatly reduce the danger of international conflict and promote the prospects of international cooperation for the common interest in the newest and most unfamiliar of all realms of human activity, a realm in which the actions of nations are sure to be fateful for good or ill.
>
> The greatest danger facing us in outer space comes not from the physical environment, however cold and hostile it may be, but from our own human nature and from the discords that trouble our relationship here on earth. Therefore, as we stand on the threshold of the space age, our first responsibility as governments is clear: We must make sure that man's earthly conflicts will not be carried into outer space.

Ambassador Goldberg added that the treaty reflected

> . . . a very fair balance of interests and obligations from the standpoint of all concerned, including the countries which as yet have little or no space program of their own.
>
> The aim of the negotiators of this treaty was not to provide in detail for every contingency that might arise in the exploration and use of outer space, many of which are unforeseeable, but rather to establish a set of basic principles. The treaty's provisions are purposely broad.

The resolution commending the treaty also requested the Outer Space Committee to continue its work on detailed agreements concerning liability for damages caused by space activities and on assistance to and return of astronauts and space vehicles. The Committee was asked "to begin at the same time the study of questions relative to the definition of outer space and the utilization of outer space and celestial bodies, including the various implications of space communications."

U.N. Space Conference

A working group composed of all members of the Outer Space Committee met in New York, January 18–25, 1966, to examine the desirability, organization, and objectives of a 1967 space conference. During the working group meeting, the U.S. delegation suggested that a U.N. conference should focus on topics important for members at all stages of development and should not be concerned principally with the exchange of scientific

information, in view of the many scientific space meetings already open to all members of the United Nations.

WORKING GROUP RECOMMENDATIONS

The working group's discussion led to a recommendation for a conference with two objectives: (1) an examination of the practical benefits of space research and exploration and the extent to which nonspace powers, especially developing countries, may enjoy these benefits; and (2) an examination of the opportunities available to nonspace powers for international cooperation in space, taking into account the extent to which the United Nations might play a role.

The working group also recommended that papers for the conference be written in a way meaningful not only to scientists but also to laymen, and that they take into account possible U.N. contributions to international cooperation in space.

The working group met again September 6–9 and recommended the following specific topics to carry forward the conference theme of practical benefits and cooperation: communications; meteorology; navigation; other techniques such as data-collecting systems, geodetic applications, and earth-resources surveys; biology and medicine; nonspace applications such as spin-off to industrial technology; education and training; opportunities for participation in cooperative programs; and economic, legal, and social problems.

The working group recommended that the conference should be held at minimum expense to the United Nations; that it should extend over 12 working days; and that papers should be selected on the basis of merit and relevance to the theme of the conference. The working group also agreed that the conference should not be empowered to make recommendations to governments or to take decisions regarding policy.

OUTER SPACE COMMITTEE CONSIDERATION

When the full Outer Space Committee met on September 19, it approved the working group's recommendations and established a "Panel of Experts" to be drawn from 13 member states—Australia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Italy, Japan, Romania, Sweden, U.S.S.R., United Arab Republic, the United States—to assist in implementing them. The panel was asked to establish deadlines and suitable lengths for abstracts and papers, schedule papers for the conference in accordance with the agreed agenda, nominate technical chairmen and other technical officers, select papers on the basis of merit and relevance, and carry out other necessary organizational tasks. The panel was to function in cooperation with the U.N. Secretariat and under the guidance of the Chairman of the Outer Space Committee.

The Committee also agreed that the conference should be held at Vienna in the first part of September 1967, before the opening of the 22d session of the General Assembly. A ceiling of between $300,000 and $350,000 was fixed for the cost of the conference, the exact amount to be determined after consultations with members and with the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions.

The Committee referred to the General Assembly the question of which states and organizations should receive invitations to participate in the conference.

THE PROBLEM OF INVITATIONS

When the First Committee of the General Assembly met on December 16 and 17, 28 developing countries and nonspace powers had tabled a draft resolution which endorsed all the recommendations of the Outer Space Committee, omitting the ques-

tion of participation in the conference. The United States and nine others cosponsored an amendment which provided for participation in the conference by states members of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice, and others that the General Assembly might decide specially to invite. A subamendment, submitted by seven others and supported by the U.S.S.R., provided for "all states" to be invited to the Conference.

The U.S. Representative, Arnold W. Frutkin, pointed out that the "states members" formula had always been used for U.N. conferences and was the only appropriate formula for the U.N. outer space conference. He recalled that the General Assembly had never adopted an "all states" formula for any U.N. conference and had, on two previous occasions in the session, rejected the "all states" formula. He termed the "all states" formula unworkable in that it would require the Secretary-General to determine what entities not members of the U.N. family are "states," a decision which the Secretary-General's Legal Counsel had repeatedly said the Secretary-General could not make. The U.S. Representative also pointed out that the great majority of U.N. members did not recognize as states other entities whose participation in the space conference would be in question. He considered the "all states" formula to be politically divisive and urged the Committee to reject it.

The Committee rejected the subamendment by a vote of 31 in favor to 44 (U.S.) against, with 15 abstentions. The amendment cosponsored by the United States was then adopted by a vote of 56 (U.S.) to 15, with 18 abstentions. The draft resolution, including this amendment, was adopted by a vote of 90 to 0, with no abstentions.

Scientific and Technical Subcommittee

The Scientific and Technical Subcommittee of the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space held its fourth session at Geneva April 18–27, 1966. Twenty-two of the 28 members participated. The Subcommittee agreed on a number of recommendations under four general headings: (1) Exchange of Information; (2) Encouragement of International Programs; (3) International Sounding Rocket Facilities; and (4) Education and Training.

Under the "Exchange of Information" item the Subcommittee examined reports prepared by the Secretariat on national space activities and on space-related activities of the United Nations and other international bodies, and recommended that the Secretariat update these papers for consideration by the full Outer Space Committee. The United States had made a major contribution to these reports, and many other states had also submitted useful sections. Some, however, including the U.S.S.R., had not contributed. The Subcommittee accordingly recommended that in future years the Secretariat prepare national reports for member states which did not wish to do so themselves, submitting these reports to the individual states concerned for approval

Under the same "Exchange of Information" item, the Subcommittee recommended that the report on space-related activities of international bodies should in the future include INTELSAT, the International Telecommunication Satellite Consortium.

One of the Subcommittee's most significant actions came under "Encouragement of International Programs." After hearing a technical exposition by a U.S. expert on navigation satellites, the Subcommittee recommended that the full Outer Space

Committee establish a working group to consider the "need, feasibility, and implementation" of a civil navigation-services satellite system. This working group was to be composed of interested members of the Committee and representatives of appropriate specialized agencies. The Committee also recommended that interested states and specialized agencies study and report on ways in which meteorological and mass communications satellites could be used to meet the needs of developing countries.

Under the third heading, "International Sounding Rocket Facilities," the Subcommittee recommended that the United Nations give continuing sponsorship to the Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station in India.

Under the final topic, "Education and Training," the United States worked successfully for adoption of guidelines to be applied when international support or sponsorship is requested for the training of specialists in space technology. Six guidelines were adopted. They provided that such training should fall within the field of space science as narrowly defined; that it should not duplicate the programs of specialized agencies; that training facilities and trainees should be well qualified; that there should be evidence of adequate opportunities for subsequent use of the trainee within his own state; that there should be present an element of self-help; and that the training should have a fixed duration, after which the trainee should return to his own state.

The Subcommittee also recommended that material contained in existing U.N. documents on facilities for space-related education and on national and international programs be compiled in a printed directory to be distributed to editors of appropriate journals, national libraries, and mailing lists provided by each member state. The United States is a major contributor to the above publications.

The full Outer Space Committee endorsed the Subcommittee's recommendations on September 19, and the First Committee of the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution approving them on December 17. The resolution specifically welcomed the intention of the Space Committee to increase the usefulness of its activities by preparing expanded reports; noted with appreciation that a number of member states had provided ample descriptive material for such reports; welcomed the Committee's decision to establish a navigation satellite working group; and endorsed the training guidelines.

The resolution also requested further Space Committee work on programs of education and training; commended the cooperative space programs in effect between many member states; noted that certain member states have contributed to the goals of the Space Committee by establishing and strengthening education and training programs; recommended the assistance necessary to continue the development of the Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station; noted with appreciation that the Secretary-General continued to maintain a public registry of objects launched into orbit or beyond; and asked the Outer Space Committee to continue its work and report to the Assembly at its 22d session.

The General Assembly unanimously adopted the First Committee's resolution in plenary session December 19.

Peaceful Settlement

Relations Among States

PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

On December 16 the Special Political Committee took up the question of the peaceful settlement of disputes. This item, which resulted from a British initiative in 1965, had been placed on the agenda of the 21st General Assembly by the 20th Assembly after an initial discussion of some of the issues involved.

The U.S. Representative, Senator Clifford P. Case, emphasized the importance the United States placed on a thorough review of the problems of peaceful settlement. The successful implementation of the Charter principles dealing with peaceful settlement was a necessity for survival in the nuclear age. He stated that it was, together with disarmament and peacekeeping, one of the interdependent elements of a decent world order. The U.S. Representative supported a draft resolution, cosponsored by Afghanistan, Argentina, Iran, Jamaica, Malta, and the Netherlands, which would have asked member states to provide the Secretary-General with their views on strengthening peaceful settlement, and would have placed the item on the agenda of the 22d General Assembly.

After devoting two meetings to the item, the Special Political Committee, on the motion of the Tanzanian Representative, decided to adjourn debate without voting on the draft resolution. The motion was adopted 50 to 26 (U.S.), with 6 abstentions.

NONINTERVENTION

In a letter dated September 23, 1966, the Soviet Foreign Minister proposed inclusion in the agenda of the 21st General Assembly of an item entitled "Status of the Implementation of the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty." A draft resolution attached to the letter urged the immediate cessation of any form of intervention in the domestic affairs of states, called upon states to carry out their obligations under the U.N. Charter and the Nonintervention Declaration adopted by the 20th Assembly, condemned all forms of intervention as a source of danger to world peace, and warned of the consequences to states engaged in armed intervention. The draft's principal omission was its failure explicitly to condemn subversion and other forms of indirect intervention in the same terms as overt armed intervention.

The U.S.S.R. had urged passage of a similar resolution in 1965, but the General Assembly had, instead, adopted a compromise "Nonintervention Declaration" which the U.S. Representative termed an important statement of political attitude and policy.

When the First Committee of the General Assembly took up the nonintervention item on December 5, 1966, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Kuznetsov opened debate with a statement which the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, in an immediate reply, called "a stale polemic of a cold-war type." The Soviet speaker devoted his speech entirely to attacks on U.S. actions in Southeast Asia and other areas. Ambassador Goldberg voiced disappointment that the Deputy Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R. had made no constructive proposals. "What this organization needs," said the U.S. Representative, "is not prowess in

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invective but prowess in the art of peacemaking."

The U.S. Representative also observed that "the Soviets show an almost unlimited capacity to talk about the Viet-Nam situation in the United Nations. But beyond the hundreds of thousands of words that they have said on this subject, there is apparently nothing that the Soviet Union seems willing to do." Ambassador Goldberg pointed out that when "the chips have been down," the Soviet Union opposed consideration of the Viet-Nam situation in the Security Council—"the U.N. organ with the primary responsibility for doing something about the situation"—and refused even to join in informal consultations.

Much of the First Committee's debate on the nonintervention item was devoted to strong Latin American criticism of the "First Afro-Asian-Latin American People's Solidarity Conference" (Tri-Continental Conference), held at Havana, January 3–12, 1966. The documentation was provided in the form of the Organization of American States Council's Special ("Lavalle") Committee Report on the Tri-Continental Conference, which was sent to the United Nations in accordance with the Council's resolution of November 28, 1966, and was distributed to all U.N. members. The Brazilian Representative, in characterizing this event as an "international festival of interventionism," voiced criticism which was forcefully supported by most of his colleagues from the other American Republics (with the obvious exception of Cuba). In addition, 19 Latin American delegations on November 30 submitted amendments to the Soviet draft resolution. These amendments focused on subversion, terrorism, and the other forms of intervention advocated by the Havana Tri-Continental Conference. On December 9, as a result of consultations with African and Asian delegations, a revised version of these amendments was submitted, and, on December 10, 22 other nations joined the Latin Americans as cosponsors.

On December 9 the U.S. Representative, Harding F. Bancroft, said that the United States would support the amendments, which went far toward correcting the omissions in the original Soviet draft. He would not try to judge, he added, whether the Soviet draft's failure to mention subversion and infiltration resulted "from an oversight or from a conscious decision to avoid condemning these indirect forms of aggression." He found it regrettable that some members, "whose representatives talk very earnestly about peace and nonintervention, are foremost in resisting any efforts to make the United Nations a more effective servant of those same principles" by enlarging the capacity of the Organization to deal with breaches of the peace.

The U.S. Representative noted that the Havana Tri-Continental Conference had been held with the declared purpose of supporting plans for intervention in the affairs of other states. The Conference and the permanent organizations created by it had frankly listed as their intended victims many independent countries in Africa and Asia, plus virtually all in the Western Hemisphere. "What is particularly remarkable," said the U.S. Representative, "because it imparts such an atmosphere of unreality to our proceedings here, is that this Conference in Havana was attended, and its actions supported, by representatives of Governments represented in this debate. Most remarkable of all, the initiator of our debate, the Soviet Union, was represented by a member of the Supreme Soviet who is also a high official of the Soviet Communist Party." The U.S. Representative added:

> To any nation that encourages intervention of one state in the affairs of another, I would say this: If you really believe in the superiority of your system, then let it commend itself through ideas, not guns. Let independent states adopt

any system of humane government they consider suited to their traditions and temperament. Let them be free from every form of outside intervention, whether open or disguised; whether old-style invasion with banners flying, or new-style subversion, infiltration, and terrorism.

On December 12 the amendments originated by the Latin American states were adopted in committee by a vote of 100 (U.S.) to 0, with the United Kingdom abstaining, and the draft resolution as amended was adopted by 99 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions (U.K. and Malta).

In explaining his vote, the U.S. Representative commended the resolution for its focus on indirect forms of intervention and noted, as the United States had done for the similar resolution of the previous year, that this was "a political Declaration with a vital political message, not . . . a declaration or elaboration of the *law* governing nonintervention."

In plenary session on December 19, the General Assembly adopted the nonintervention resolution by a vote of 114 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions (U.K. and Malta).

PROHIBITION OF FORCE AND RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION

At the opening of the 21st General Assembly, Czechoslovakia proposed the inscription of an item entitled "Strict Observance of the Prohibition of the Threat or Use of Force in International Relations, and of the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination." The Czechoslovakian Representative described the question as "urgent and important" because of the number of recent events in which force was used and self-determination denied. He explained that such actions were contrary to the U.N. Charter and posed a grave danger of worldwide conflict. The General Assembly was, therefore, urged to reaffirm the principles regarding the use of force and self-determination. The item was assigned to the plenary of the General Assembly for consideration.

During the early stage of the debate several countries, including the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, criticized the activities of the United States in Viet-Nam. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador James M. Nabrit, responded to these attacks on November 9 by deploring the cynical disregard they showed for the role and responsibility of the United Nations and its members. He recalled the basic facts of the Viet-Nam conflict and stressed that it was precisely self-determination at stake in South Viet-Nam, which was the victim of an unlawful use of force by North Viet-Nam. "It is because of the attempt to upset by violence the situation in Viet-Nam, and its far-reaching implications elsewhere," the U.S. Representative said, "that the United States and other countries have responded to appeals from South Viet-Nam for military assistance." He also emphasized that the prohibition of the use of force in the Charter must apply to international demarcation lines in all divided states.

Three draft resolutions were submitted for consideration under this item. The United States and Costa Rica proposed a draft on November 15 which stressed the Charter's provisions; called on countries to renounce doctrines advocating the use of overt armed force, subversion, or terrorism directed toward the violent overthrow of other governments; and urgently appealed for countries to lessen international tensions and support the Charter's principles.

After extended negotiations among sponsors of the various draft resolutions, a compromise was agreed upon which recalled and reaffirmed the Charter's principles and prior Assembly actions, and expressed concern for the parlous state of international relations. In its operative paragraphs the resolution reaffirmed that (1) armed attack by one state against another, or the use of force in any other form contrary to the Charter, constitutes a violation of international

law giving rise to international responsibility; and that (2) any forcible action, direct or indirect, to deprive peoples under foreign domination of their right to self-determination was a violation of the Charter. The resolution appealed to states to renounce and refrain from any action contrary to the stated principles, to facilitate the exercise of self-determination of peoples under colonial rule, to lessen international tension, to strengthen peace, and to promote friendly relations and cooperation among states. It reminded all members of their duty to support the United Nations and to assist the Organization in discharging its responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security. Finally, it asked the Secretary-General to include the resolution and the records of the debate on this item in the documentation for consideration in the further study of the principles of international law concerning friendly relations among states (see page 247).

In a statement supporting the compromise resolution, the U.S. Representative expressed the hope that all nations would heed the call to refrain from unjustified use of armed force and to put aside attacks on peoples who wish to be free and live in peace. He felt that the resolution's emphasis on freedom was particularly important, and that the resolution clearly applied to those instances where people had been deprived of their freedom or autonomy since the Second World War. The U.S. Representative noted that the resolution, while not a statement of international law, represented an important political statement by the General Assembly. Further work would be required in the Special Committee on Friendly Relations Among States in order to develop precise statements of international law.

The resolution was approved on November 30 by a vote of 98 (U.S.) to 2 (U.K. and Portugal), with 8 abstentions (Australia, Belgium, China, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, South Africa).

Congo-Portugal Dispute

On September 21, 1966, the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (GDRC) formally requested a Security Council meeting to consider GDRC charges that the Portuguese Government was harboring in Angola and Cabinda mercenary forces hired by ex-Congolese Premier Tshombe. The alleged mission of these mercenaries was "to shed Congolese blood in order to overthrow the legitimate and lawful authorities of the Congo." The Congolese further charged, "This situation constitutes a serious threat to world peace, because as soon as these mercenaries attack the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Republic will consider itself to be at war with Portugal." The Congolese accordingly urged the Security Council "to call upon Portugal to end what may rightly be called aggression. . . ."

Public statements of Congolese leaders linked the Congolese complaint with the arrest in France a few days earlier of some 40 men charged with having been recruited by pro-Tshombe elements for illegal military training in France, presumably for action against the GDRC. At the same time, there was a threatened mutiny among Congolese military units from Katanga, Mr. Tshombe's home area. Congolese leaders also stated that Tshombist mercenaries and the disaffected Katangan gendarmes were involved in a coordinated external plot to overthrow the GDRC.

On September 27 the Portuguese Foreign Minister categorically denied that there were any mercenaries, training camps, or stores of arms and munitions on Portuguese territory for use against the Congo. He also renewed an invitation for the U.N. Sec-

retary-General to visit Portuguese territories in Africa.

Meanwhile, on September 24 several hundred youths ransacked the Portuguese Embassy in Kinshasa. They attacked and carried off the Portuguese Chargé d'Affaires and two other members of the Embassy staff, who were subsequently released. The Government of Portugal, charging that the incident was not spontaneous, demanded compensation for the property damage and asked the Security Council to insure that the GDRC fulfilled its responsibilities for adequate protection of the lives and property of foreign residents in the Congo.

SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION

The Security Council met September 30 to consider the Congolese complaint, which was presented by Foreign Minister Bomboko. He reiterated that the presence of mercenaries in Angola endangered the peace in Africa; that ex-Premier Tshombe tried to subvert mercenaries employed by the Congo; and that pro-Tshombe groups wanted to exploit the dissatisfaction of Katangan elements in the Congolese armed forces. He accused the Portuguese Government of allowing the return of armed Katangan gendarmes to the Congo when Mr. Tshombe took power in 1964 and asserted that this Portuguese action was prompted by Congolese recognition of an Angolan revolutionary government-in-exile, which was located on Congolese territory.

The fundamental nature of the division between the GDRC and the Portuguese Government was made explicit by Mr. Bomboko's statement that Africans "did not recognize" Portuguese territories in Africa as Portuguese, and that "there could be no understanding" between Portugal and African nations until Portugal granted independence to its colonies.

The Portuguese Representative, Mr. de Miranda, responded that the issue before the Council was simply whether there were any mercenaries in Angola. He categorically denied this and said that no evidence of their existence had been produced.

With reference to the Katangese who returned to the Congo in 1964, the Portuguese Representative said that they had been disarmed and interned in accordance with international law when they came to Angola. They were not allowed to carry on any political or military activity while interned, and they went back to the Congo at their own request with the consent of the then legal Government of the Congo.

When the Council next met on October 3, the Portuguese Representative rejected any responsibility for the upheavals in the Congo but stated that the Government of Portugal was prepared to permit an investigation of the alleged mercenary bases, provided the Congolese showed an equal good will and spirit of cooperation by allowing a similar investigation of anti-Portuguese bases in the Congo.

C. Y. Mgonja of Tanzania, although not a member of the Security Council, asked to speak in support of the Congolese complaint. He spoke of the "international aggressive conspiracy against Africa" and said that "impoverished Portugal derives part of its strength from the NATO military system. . . . All the lethal weapons used to massacre African populations and intimidate independent African States are supplied by NATO. . . . Only recently, Portugal has obtained at least seven B–26 bombers from the United States of America, even though it is alleged that this transaction was illegal."

In exercising his right of reply, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, pointed out that the only involvement of the U.S. Government in the illegal supply of aircraft to Portugal was its vigorous prosecution of those charged with the offense. He

reminded the Council of previous official statements that the policy of the United States is not to supply arms for use in Portuguese Africa. He added that any implication that the policy of Portugal in Africa was related to NATO was incorrect. "The NATO organization is concerned with the defense of the North Atlantic area, an area which does not embrace the Portuguese African territories."

FOUR-POWER RESOLUTION

On October 12 a four-power (Jordan, Mali, Nigeria, Uganda) draft resolution was circulated which took note of the statements by the Portuguese and Congolese Representatives, recorded the Security Council's concern, and recalled the pertinent resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. The operative paragraphs of the draft (1) urged Portugal "in view of its own statement, not to allow foreign mercenaries to use Angola as a base of operation for interfering in the domestic affairs of the Democratic Republic of the Congo"; (2) called upon all states "to refrain or desist from intervening in the domestic affairs" of the Congo; and (3) requested the Secretary-General to follow closely the implementation of the resolution. The Council met the next day to consider the draft, which was formally introduced by Mali.

The Dutch Representative said he thought the wisest action would be to take note of the statements of both parties and to request all states to desist from intervening in the Congo. He said, "Such a decision should not imply any condemnation or judgment, because the evidence available is insufficient."

The Portuguese Representative viewed the draft resolution as "a consolation prize offered to the Democratic Republic of the Congo for having failed to substantiate—much less to prove—its case." In referring to his proposal of October 3 for an investigative commission of Security Council members, he noted that the Congolese delegation did not even touch upon the proposal, and he found it "equally regrettable" that the draft resolution made no reference to the idea.

The Congolese complaint was again discussed on October 14. In the course of the meeting it became clear that the Council was divided over the first operative paragraph. As a result, the Representatives of France, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States asked that the sponsors permit a separate vote on this paragraph.

The U.S. Representative explained that the United States could not vote for this paragraph, although it could have supported "a call upon all states not to allow territory under their control to be used as bases for operations for interference by mercenaries or otherwise in the domestic affairs of other states, including specifically the Democratic Republic of the Congo."

The sponsors of the resolution indicated their willingness to allow a separate vote on the first operative paragraph, which resulted in 11 votes in favor, 0 against, with France, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States abstaining. The resolution as a whole was then unanimously adopted.

Cyprus

In 1966 Cyprus continued to be a major question in the United Nations. Although there was no large scale violence, the situation in Cyprus remained tense, with an undiminished potential for seriously threatening the peace in the eastern Mediterranean area. The Greek and Turkish communities faced each other throughout the year in an uneasy armed truce; virtually no progress was made on the fundamental differences between them. The U.N. Force in Cyprus

(UNFICYP) continued to fulfill its peacekeeping mandate successfully.

FIRST SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION: MARCH

On March 2 the Secretary-General authorized his Special Representative in Cyprus, Carlos Bernardes,

> . . . to employ your good offices and make such approaches to the parties in or outside the island of Cyprus, as may seem to you to be likely to be productive, in the sense of achieving in the first instance discussions at any level, of problems and issues of either a purely local or a broader nature.

The Governments of Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus assured the Secretary-General that they would cooperate with his Special Representative.

In his report to the Security Council on the first 3 months of 1966, the Secretary-General said that although armed confrontation continued, the situation had been "gratifyingly quiet." He noted, however, that "the possibility of renewed and even large scale fighting" was ever-present, and it still remained to be demonstrated that there was among the leaders of the two communities a genuine will to peace of sufficient earnestness and intensity to lead them to those mutual accommodations which are essential to pacific settlement. "The international community can only help and assist. The key to a settlement, however, lies in the last analysis with the parties. Unless they are prepared to move toward resolving their basic differences, the prospects of an early solution are dim indeed."

The Secretary-General noted that UNFICYP had been progressively reduced from an original strength of 7,000 to about 4,500. This reflected a generally improved security situation, and the determination of the United Nations to operate as economically as possible. In this regard, the Secretary-General found the financial situation "acute," with an estimated cumulative deficit of $4.1 million.

The Council met on March 15 to consider an 8-power (Argentina, Japan, Mali, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Uganda, and Uruguay) draft resolution which called for extending UNFICYP for 3 months, "in the firm hope that by the end of this period substantial progress towards a solution will have been achieved." The draft also urged the parties concerned "to act with the utmost restraint and to make determined efforts with a view to achieving the objectives of the Security Council."

The resolution, which was the result of extensive consultation among Council members before the meeting, was unanimously adopted without debate on March 16.

After the vote, the Secretary-General noted that the extension was essential in light of the circumstances on the island. He expressed his disappointment that the resolution made no effort to strengthen UNFICYP's financial support, which he said was uncertain and inadequate.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador James Roosevelt, stated that his government recognized the need to extend the mandate of UNFICYP, which the United States would continue to support by its statements, votes, and financial contributions. He welcomed the expanded responsibility given Mr. Bernardes; called for an intensified search for ways to reduce tension and promote a solution to the basic problem; and endorsed the Secretary-General's call for wider financial support.

SECOND SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION: JUNE

When the Council next met on June 16 the Secretary-General reported that in the previous 3 months the situation had not improved, and that UNFICYP's continued presence was indispensable if a disastrous reversion to violence and conflict was to be avoided. He found few changes for the better and some manifesta-

tions of a "disturbing deterioration" in the relations between the Government and the Turkish Cypriot leaders. He noted that incidents of armed confrontation were increasing, and there was an increasing tendency to establish "new, provocative fortified positions." He noted further that a series of terrorist bombings, for which responsibility could not be fixed, had led the Government of Cyprus to refuse to discuss a number of important matters.

The Secretary-General said he hoped, however, that it might still be possible to have talks, in the presence of UNFICYP, between that Government and the Turkish Cypriots on questions which the Special Representative thought ripe for settlement.

The Secretary-General described the difficulties of the political situation, noting that:

> . . . In the present situation, as part of the paralyzing mistrust between them, the tendency exists in the Government and in the Turk-Cypriot leadership to see each small step on the road towards normality as an erosion of their political position. This attitude makes UNFICYP's efforts to build bridges . . . and to find practical solutions an exacting task requiring great patience and resourcefulness.

In introducing a draft resolution sponsored by Argentina, Japan, Jordan, Mali, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, and Uganda, the Netherlands Representative said that the sponsors intended to limit the resolution to an extension of the U.N. Force and to certain connected aspects on which there was substantial agreement. The resolution did not deal with the substance of the Cyprus problem as it seemed that a debate was more likely to do harm than good.

Accordingly, there was no debate prior to the Council's action extending the Force for 6 months. However, for the first time, the Council specifically recorded its hope that sufficient progress would be made in the next 6 months, "so as to render possible a withdrawal or a substantial reduction of the Force."

In statements after the vote, most members agreed with the Secretary-General's description of the situation and indicated they shared his serious concern. The Dutch Representative stated that should the current deadlock persist, his government's contribution for the next 6 months would be its last.

Another noteworthy development was the announcement on June 9 by the Governments of Greece and Turkey that they planned to hold confidential talks on Cyprus and other problems. The Secretary-General in his report noted this "with great interest" and expressed the hope, which the United States and other powers endorsed, that the talks would contribute to a solution of the Cyprus problem.

THIRD SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION: DECEMBER

In his report to the Security Council dated December 8 the Secretary-General noted little significant change in the 6 preceding months. He referred to the familiar pattern of an uneasy truce, marked by an increase in the number of incidents, frequent breaches of the cease-fire, bombings, and the establishment of new and provocative fortified positions. He said that without UNFICYP several incidents could have developed into serious fighting.

Despite the prevailing deadlock over the settlement of basic issues, two long-standing problems relating to postal service and land registration were satisfactorily settled. Apart from these limited achievements, however, he found both communities exceedingly cautious and apprehensive that "any concession may affect disadvantageously the terms of the ultimate settlement."

The Secretary-General reported that the dialogue between Greece and Turkey continued, although he was not informed regarding the substance of the talks. He appreciated the desire for secrecy on the part of both

governments, and, "in order to avoid doing anything which might be interpreted as imperiling a successful outcome of the talks," he had temporarily suspended all other efforts at a solution, including those of his Special Representative, "even as regards talks at the local level." He noted that the prevailing circumstances were not conducive to a resumption of the mediation function. He reiterated his previously expressed hopes for the success of the Greco-Turkish talks, but continued, "I feel impelled to say that in the interest of an ultimate solution such U.N. efforts as are mentioned above should not be suspended for too long."

The Secretary-General repeated his statement from previous reports that the method of financing UNFICYP by voluntary contributions was far from satisfactory. He estimated that despite two appeals during the last 6 months of 1966 "a serious deficit" of $4.13 million would remain as of December 26, 1966.

In a supplementary report issued on December 13 the Secretary-General reported that the Government of Cyprus had imported a quantity of arms from Czechoslovakia. Details were not given, beyond the fact that the delivery included 1,000 rifles and 1,000 submachineguns to be used by the police. Although the Government of Cyprus had undertaken not to issue the arms for 2 months and had agreed that the unopened crates could be inspected by the UNFICYP Commander, the Secretary-General found the introduction of more arms "a cause for concern to UNFICYP with regard to the discharge of its mandate."

When the Security Council met on December 15, the Argentine Representative introduced a resolution, cosponsored with Japan, Jordan, Mali, Nigeria, Uganda, and Uruguay, which recalled previous Council resolutions, urged the parties concerned to act with restraint and to continue their cooperative efforts, and extended the force for 6 months "in the expectation that sufficient progress toward a solution by then will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force."

The resolution was adopted unanimously. Following the vote, the Greek Representative gave the Council a general outline of the Greek-Turkish talks about Cyprus, noting first that continued secrecy was indicated if the talks were to be carried on smoothly and with the best possible chances of success. He said that "this absolute secrecy and the fact that the talks are continuing . . . certainly denote the seriousness of purpose and the determined effort with which the dialogue is conducted." As an indication of the way the talks were going he pointed to the lessening of tension in Greek-Turkish relations and stressed that both governments were trying hard to reach a solution. He expressed his government's appreciation to the Security Council for allowing time to pursue these efforts.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, found increased breaches of the peace and the establishment of new fortifications a disturbing factor. He also expressed concern over the importation of arms from Czechoslovakia and said:

> . . . peace and order can only be achieved by an even greater degree of cooperation with UNFICYP. The importation of additional arms, in violation of the spirit and intent of the Council's March 4, 1964, resolution will not achieve greater peace and security. On the contrary, their very presence cannot be other than a source of insecurity and strife.
>
> We welcome the agreement of the Government of Cyprus to allow UNFICYP to inspect those arms. But we would hope further that these arms can be neutralized, and this could occur if the Cypriot Government agreed to place the arms which have already arrived under the continuing custody of the United Nations Force.

The Representative of Cyprus replied that his government had the right and duty to have its police force functioning properly, that the arms would be used to equip 300 new members of the Cyprus police and to replace old weapons, and that the

Government of Cyprus had a responsibility to maintain law and order.

The Turkish Representative associated himself with the comments of the Greek Representative on the talks between their two governments and said the Government of Turkey shared the concern expressed by the Secretary-General over the Government of Cyprus' importation of arms. He expressed the view that the purchase was "a flagrant violation" of the letter and spirit of the March 4, 1964, resolution, as well as other appeals by the Security Council. He believed that the Government of Cyprus, by consenting freely to the dispatch of a U.N. peacekeeping force to Cyprus, had "voluntarily limited its sovereignty to the extent that it can no longer exercise so-called 'acts of Government' which are incompatible with the mandate of that Force and which in fact endanger the Force itself."

Dominican Republic

The Security Council, which had last met to consider the situation in the Dominican Republic in July 1965, held no meetings on that subject in 1966. The Organization of American States, acting under article 54 of the U.N. Charter, continued to report to the Council on the activities in the Dominican Republic of the Inter-American Peace Force (IAPF) and of the *ad hoc* Committee of the 10th Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American Republics. Also, the U.N. Secretary-General continued to transmit to the Security Council reports from his representative in the Dominican Republic. The Council was thus informed of the elections in the Dominican Republic on June 1, 1966, of the installation of the new government on July 1, and of the withdrawal of the IAPF, which began June 28 and concluded September 21.

In a letter to the Secretary-General dated October 13, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Dominican Republic observed that with the installation of the government of Dr. Joaquin Balaguer on July 1, the situation in the Dominican Republic had returned to normal. In view of this, his government considered that the purposes of the Security Council had been attained and that the withdrawal of the U.N. mission from the Dominican Republic was therefore advisable. On October 14 the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that, in light of all the circumstances, he had initiated arrangements for the withdrawal of the U.N. mission from the Dominican Republic. The U.N. Representative left Santo Domingo on October 23.

Kashmir

The India-Pakistan dispute was not formally considered by the Security Council in 1966 and during the year, as tensions eased between the two countries, the U.N. peace observation machinery on the subcontinent reverted to levels existing before the outbreak of hostilities in August 1965.

During the autumn of 1965, the Security Council had adopted several resolutions which in essence called on the two parties to order a cease-fire, to withdraw their forces to positions held before August 5, 1965, and to utilize peaceful means to resolve the underlying political problem of Kashmir. The cease-fire entered into effect on September 22, 1965.

On January 10, 1966, Prime Minister Shastri of India and President Ayub Khan of Pakistan announced agreement to withdraw their respective armed forces to the positions held by them on August 5, 1965. This withdrawal provision was included in an overall declaration issued by the

Indian and Pakistani leaders meeting at Tashkent in the Soviet Union.

Joint meetings of Indian and Pakistani military representatives continued throughout January under the auspices of the Secretary-General's personal representative, General Tulio Marambio of Chile. General Marambio had been appointed pursuant to the Security Council's resolution of November 5, 1965, to assist the parties in formulating a plan for withdrawal.

By January 29 India and Pakistan reached final agreement on a detailed plan for disengagement and withdrawal, which would be monitored along the Kashmir cease-fire line by the U.N. Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP), and along the international boundary between India and Pakistan by the U.N. India-Pakistan Observer Mission (UNIPOM). The latter group had been established in accordance with the Security Council's resolution of September 20, 1965. In the event of disagreement between the parties during disengagement, the decision of the chief officers of UNMOGIP and UNIPOM would be final and binding on both sides.

After the disengagement phase all troops, paramilitary forces, and armed police who found themselves on the wrong side of the international boundary or the cease-fire lines in Kashmir would be withdrawn. During this withdrawal, any disagreements would be resolved by representatives of the Indian and Pakistani armies, but if this proved impossible, the dispute would be resolved by General Marambio, whose decision would be final.

The Secretary-General told the Security Council on February 26 that the chief officers of UNIPOM and UNMOGIP reported that the overall withdrawals of troops by India and Pakistan had been completed as scheduled on February 25. He observed that the withdrawal provisions of the Council's resolutions had thus been fulfilled by the two parties.

The Secretary-General thereupon announced the end of General Marambio's mission as of February 28, 1966, and informed the Security Council that UNIPOM would be terminated no later than March 26, 1966. He also said that UNMOGIP would be reduced to 45 officers, about the level it had had prior to the outbreak of hostilities.

During the remainder of 1966, conditions along the frontier between India and West Pakistan and along the cease-fire line in Kashmir remained relatively stable. The U.N. Representatives of India and Pakistan periodically informed the Security Council of minor violations of the cease-fire agreements alleged to have been committed by the other side. The UNMOGIP investigated the bulk of these charges in the course of its normal observation of the Kashmir cease-fire line.

Korea

U.N. COMMISSION FOR THE UNIFICATION AND REHABILITATION OF KOREA (UNCURK)

As in previous years, the General Assembly agenda included an item entitled "The Korean Question: Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" (UNCURK). This Commission was established by the General Assembly on October 7, 1950, to represent the United Nations in bringing about a unified, independent, and democratic Korea. The Commission, with headquarters in Seoul, consists of representatives of Australia, Chile, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey.

In accordance with past resolutions of the General Assembly, UNCURK again reported on its activities during the past year. The report, dated Au-

gust 19, 1966, noted that the Commission continued to be available in Korea for observation and consultation, that it followed closely the functioning of representative government and general developments within the Republic of Korea, and that members of the Commission had been able to consult and travel freely throughout the Republic of Korea. The Commission observed that the Republic of Korea had repeatedly reaffirmed its policy of adhering to the U.N. formula for the attainment of national unification. However, the Commission noted that its efforts to seek a settlement in Korea in accordance with its mandate had again met the refusal of the North Korean authorities to accept the recommendations of the General Assembly or to recognize the competence and authority of the United nations to deal with the Korean problem.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

On September 20, 1966, the Representative of the Soviet Union, joined by nine other Communist representatives, requested inscription on the Assembly's agenda of an additional item on Korea entitled "Withdrawal of all U.S. and Other Foreign Forces Occupying South Korea under the Flag of the United Nations and the Dissolution of the UNCURK." Despite Soviet objections to inclusion of the UNCURK item on the agenda, the General Committee of the Assembly recommended on September 21 that the Assembly include both Korean items on its agenda and allocate them to the First Committee for consideration. The General Assembly adopted these recommendations on September 24.

The Committee's consideration of the Korean question concentrated on two broad issues: invitations to Korean representatives to participate in the debate and reaffirmation of the U.N. objectives for the unification of Korea. On the so-called seating question, two principal draft resolutions were submitted. One, sponsored by nine states (Bolivia, Central African Republic, Colombia, Japan, Malagasy Republic, the Philippines, Thailand, Togo, the U.S.), provided for the committee (1) to invite a representative of the Republic of Korea to take part in the discussion; and (2) to reaffirm its willingness to invite a representative of North Korea to take part provided North Korea would first unequivocally accept the competence and authority of the United Nations, within the terms of the Charter, to take action on the Korean question.

The second draft resolution, sponsored by 12 states (Bulgaria, Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Guinea, Hungary, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Nepal, Syria, Tanzania, and Yugoslavia), proposed that the Committee invite "unreservedly and simultaneously" representatives of North Korea and the Republic of Korea.

On December 1, the Guinean Representative interrupted the debate relating to one of the disarmament items to propose that the First Committee proceed immediately to a vote on the 12-power draft seating resolution. This proposal was made even though the order of agenda items already agreed on by the Committee did not call for consideration of either of the Korean items at that point. Following a lengthy procedural debate, the Guinean motion received a vote of 38 to 37 (U.S.), with 22 abstentions. The U.S. Representative, Senator Frank Church, maintained that the effect of the motion was to change a previous decision of the Committee on the order of agenda items and, therefore, under the Committee's rules required a two-thirds majority for adoption. After further debate on this question, which did not result in a decision on the majority required on the Guinean motion, the chairman announced on December 5 that the Committee would proceed to consideration of the next regularly

scheduled item on its agenda without regard to the status of the vote on the Guinean proposal and without prejudice to the views of the members concerning the various procedural questions raised.

On December 12 the First Committee began regular consideration of the Korean question. The Soviet Representative said it was necessary to invite representatives of North Korea and South Korea to take part in the discussion and that the draft resolution cosponsored by the United States and others was one-sided and discriminatory since the invitation to North Korea was hedged with reservations.

On December 13 the U.S. Representative strongly urged that the resolution he was cosponsoring be adopted. He reviewed the background of the U.N. involvement in the Korean question and recalled the historic U.N. action to repel North Korean aggression in 1950. He observed that the Communist representatives had persistently urged the United Nations to abdicate its responsibility for resolving the problem of Korea. Their approach, he said, was simple: "Korea: Off limits to the United Nations! United Nations—Keep out! United Nations—Hands off the Korea problem!" He urged that the Committee first satisfy itself that both parties would cooperate with the Committee's efforts and that they would both consider in good faith the recommendations that it would make. The formula, he said, must also recognize the facts of the matter: that the Republic of Korea had unequivocally accepted the competence and authority of the United Nations whereas North Korea—judging from recent statements—continued to hold the view that the United Nations did not now, and never had, possessed any right to concern itself with the problem of Korea. Numerous other speakers supported the draft resolution cosponsored by the United States.

On December 13 the Committee rejected the 12-power draft resolution by a vote of 34 to 53 (U.S.) with 20 abstentions. At the same meeting the Committee adopted the 9-power draft by a vote of 63 to 24, with 21 abstentions.

Voting for the resolution were Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Gabon, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Laos, Lesotho, Luxembourg, Malagasy Republic, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the Philippines, Rwanda, South Africa, Spain, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States, Upper Volta, Uruguay, and Venezula.

Those voting against it were Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Guinea, Hungary, Iraq, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Nepal, Poland, Romania, Syria, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., Tanzania, and Yugoslavia.

Abstaining were Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Cyprus, Finland, India, Indonesia, Jamaica, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Sweden, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, and Yemen.

The Committee thereupon turned its attention to two draft resolutions dealing with the substance of the Korean question. Under a draft sponsored by 15 states (Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Japan, Luxembourg, Malagasy Republic, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, Togo, the U.K., the U.S.), the General Assembly would reaffirm that U.N. objectives in Korea are to bring about by peaceful means the establishment of a unified, independent,

and democratic Korea under a representative form of government; express the belief that arrangements should be made to achieve these objectives through genuinely free elections held in accordance with relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly; request UNCURK to intensify its efforts to achieve these objectives; and note that the sole objective of the U.N. forces remaining in Korea is to preserve peace and security in the area and that these forces could be withdrawn whenever requested by the Republic of Korea or when conditions for a lasting settlement had been fulfilled.

A counterresolution submitted by the U.S.S.R. and 13 other states would have had the Assembly decide that all American and other foreign military personnel in South Korea should be withdrawn; that UNCURK should be immediately dissolved; and that the Korean question should no longer be discussed in the United Nations.

Debate on these draft resolutions began on December 13. On December 14 Foreign Minister Tong Won Lee of the Republic of Korea noted that despite impressive achievements by the Republic of Korea in the international political, economic, and social fields, efforts toward unification had not yet borne fruit. He expressed his government's hope that the United Nations would remain steadfast and that its efforts would thus continue to hold promise of eventual success. The Republic of Korea, he said, remained grateful to UNCURK for its work and sincerely desired that UNCURK and the U.N. forces remain in Korea. He continued:

> . . . We are confident that persistence and firmness on the part of the international community will eventually convince the intransigents and the extremists of the North that they will serve the interests of the Korean people best by agreeing to accept a formula for unification in peace, in freedom, and on the basis of the popular will.

The Soviet Representative sharply attacked the U.N. role in Korea. He alleged that the unification of Korea was a domestic affair and that all foreign troops must be withdrawn. He charged that the U.S. Government was using a "puppet regime" in Seoul to further its aggressive policies in Asia. He charged that the United States was trying to persuade the Assembly to act as a "rubber stamp" on the Korean question, and he alleged that UNCURK operated in South Korea "only with the support of the U.S. bayonets."

U.S. Position

On December 14, the U.S. Representative stated that the views of the Soviet Representative were obviously not shared by the great majority of the international community, nor by the Asian countries with which the Republic of Korea had been forging close ties, nor by UNCURK whose report clearly demonstrated impressive economic growth and social progress in the Republic of Korea.

The U.S. Representative listed a series of incidents fomented by North Korean military forces which showed its utter disregard of the military armistice agreement. Concern over these violations of the armistice was heightened, he said, by an awareness that North Korea had not only rejected the concept of peaceful unification through free elections but continued to espouse a doctrine of unification through revolution and armed struggle. The U.S. Representative noted that two choices confronted the Committee: one, sponsored by the Soviet Union, was an "old wine—and not even in new bottles," which would have the United Nations remove itself from any role whatsoever in the problem of Korean unification. The second choice, outlined in the draft resolution cosponsored by the United States, would have the United Nations continue to exercise its responsibility in "seeking to right what

all the world regards as an international wrong—the division of Korea." He noted that the U.S. draft resolution expressed the hope that conditions could soon be created to facilitate the unification of Korea:

> . . . on the basis of the freely expressed will of all the Korean people. This language suggests no desire or intention to bring about the defeat or humiliation of either the Republic of Korea or the authorities presently ruling in the North. We are instead hopeful that people residing in the northern part of Korea would be permitted by their present political authorities to join with their compatriots in the South in order that all the Korean people might freely express themselves on the question of unification and the kind of political and social system which would be adopted for all Korea.

The 15-power draft, he pointed out, asked UNCURK to intensify its efforts. "My delegation hopes that ways may be found in the near future through which UNCURK might broaden its contacts with all the parties concerned to explore anew any possibilities for implementing the course of action recommended by the Assembly. . . . my delegation is hopeful that new avenues for progress might well be opened." The U.S. Representative, in conclusion, expressed confidence that the Assembly would, as before, approve the course of continuing responsibility and reject the course of abrupt abdication.

Assembly Action

On December 16 the Committee rejected the 14-power (U.S.S.R.) draft resolution by a vote of 21 to 61 (U.S.), with 25 abstentions. The 15-power draft was then adopted by a vote of 66 to 19, with 24 abstentions.

Voting for the resolution were Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Gabon, The Gambia, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lesotho, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malagasy Republic, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, the Philippines, Rwanda, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States, Upper Volta, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

Opposed were Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Guinea, Hungary, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Syria, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia.

Abstaining were Afghanistan, Burma, Cameroon, Ceylon, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Finland, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Tanzania, Tunisia, and the United Arab Republic.

On December 19 the Assembly considered in plenary the resolution adopted by the Committee. The Cuban Representative introduced a series of six amendments which would have, in essence, transformed the resolution recommended by the First Committee into the type of resolution which the Committee had already decisively rejected three days earlier. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, pointed out that these amendments would pervert and entirely alter the resolution. After a brief debate all six amendments were defeated by substantial majorities. The draft resolution recommended by the First Committee was then adopted by 67 (U.S.) to 19, with 32 abstentions.

MILITARY ARMISTICE COMMISSION

The Korean Armistice Agreement, concluded in 1953, remained in effect during 1966 and the Military Armis-

tice Commission (MAC) met 17 times, bringing the total number of such meetings to 237. Meetings of the MAC were held as usual in Panmunjon, a neutral area in the demilitarized zone established by the 1953 Armistice Agreement. The meetings continued to be utilized by the Communist side to raise extraneous political and propaganda issues. North Korean representatives accused the U.N. Command of numerous violations of the Armistice Agreement but declined all suggestions by the U.N. Command for impartial, on-the-spot investigations. On the other hand, representatives of the U.N. Command complained of North Korean violations of the Armistice Agreement and listed numerous instances of attacks by North Korean armed personnel against South Koreans and Americans in the southern portions of the demilitarized zone. One of the most flagrant of these North Korean attacks occurred in November 1966 during the visit of President Johnson to the Republic of Korea.

Nuqub Incident

In August 1966 the Security Council considered for the first time since 1964 the tense situation along the border between Yemen and the British-protected Federation of South Arabia. In April 1964 the Council had adopted a resolution deploring a British attack on a town on the Yemen side of the border. That resolution, *inter alia,* requested the Secretary-General to try to settle the outstanding issues in agreement with the two parties. The Secretary-General consulted with the parties but no agreement was reached on demilitarization or demarcation of the frontier. Both sides continued to report incidents along the border to the Security Council.

SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION

In a letter of August 2, 1966, to the President of the Security Council the United Kingdom requested an immediate meeting of the Council to consider an "unprovoked and indefensible attack" on the town of Nuqub in the Amirate of Baihan in the Federation of South Arabia. The United Kingdom reported that on July 30 two aircraft believed to have been MIGs appeared over the town and, after making one high-level run, carried out low-level strafing attacks on the town. Three Arab children were wounded and a total of 75 hits were counted on houses. The shell cases recovered had been provisionally identified as Russian, the letter stated, "and the evidence thus indicates that the aircraft responsible for this attack were aircraft of the United Arab Republic Air Force operating from an airfield in the Yemen."

The Council met on August 4 to consider the British complaint. The U.K. Representative read eyewitness accounts and the report of the British officer who investigated the attack. The U.K. Representative summarized the key facts in the incident as follows: the attack was made by two aircraft coming from the direction of Yemen; the ammunition was of Soviet manufacture; the evidence by competent observers pointed to the aircraft being MIGs since the only aircraft in the area which fitted the characteristics described were the MIG aircraft operated by the United Arab Republic forces in Yemen. He stressed that no U.K. aircraft were anywhere near Nuqub at the time of the incident and said that as far as he was aware the Yemeni authorities did not themselves have jet aircraft.

The U.K. Representative asked that the Council deplore the attack on Nuqub and call upon the United Arab Republic and Yemen to insure that further such attacks did not occur.

The U.A.R. Representative said that he had been authorized by his government to state that planes belonging to the U.A.R. air force had not undertaken "any kind of operation in Baihan." He also announced, on behalf of the Arab-Yemen Joint Command, that none of its planes were airborne on July 30. He charged the British with using the complaint to try to cover up their oppression of the peoples of Aden and the Aden protectorates. The only military aircraft flying over those areas were British aircraft, he said.

Although the Yemeni Representative had no instructions from his government at the first meeting on the British complaint, he was subsequently able to state that he had received from his government "complete and unequivocal refutation of the alleged incident." He questioned the veracity of the eyewitness reports presented by the U.K. Representative and suggested that the planes could have been British. He also reviewed the Security Council action in April 1964 and Yemeni complaints to the Council after that. The basic problem, he said, was not the boundary but the British presence in Aden and the Aden protectorates. He asked whether the incident was "concocted by the British authorities as a pretext and a justification for the build-up of a new British military base in Baihan" and as "part of a plan to commit yet another act of aggression against the Yemen Arab Republic."

U.N. INVESTIGATION SUGGESTED

The Representative of New Zealand suggested orally and later proposed in a draft resolution that the Council request the Secretary-General "to arrange for an immediate investigation, to be carried out by experienced United Nations personnel, in order to establish the facts relating to the incident." The U.K. Representative said that his government would do everything in its power to expedite and afford all facilities to such an investigation.

The New Zealand proposal was also supported by the Netherlands, the United States, Uruguay, Nigeria, and France. The U.A.R. Representative said, however, that an investigation could not be justified or warranted by the facts presented by the British. The Representatives of the U.S.S.R., Bulgaria, and Jordan also opposed the proposed investigation.

U.S. POSITION

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, recalled that the United States had often expressed "its profound sympathy with the aspirations of the people of South Arabia for self-determination and independence," and noted that the United Kingdom had announced in 1964 its intention to grant independence to the people of the area no later than 1968. It was important, Ambassador Goldberg said, that the people of the area have an opportunity peacefully to work out a constitutional balance among the varying groups, and the Council should be ready to render every assistance possible to help insure peace along the borders and stability within.

The statements of the U.K. Representative and the Representatives of the United Arab Republic and Yemen conflicted, Ambassador Goldberg observed. "Yet it is clear that an incident did occur," he said. The United States did not find credible the suggestion that this was a British provocation, he explained. Consequently, the United States, "without prejudging any of the facts," supported the proposal made by the Representative of New Zealand, "which would seem to provide a very constructive basis for further Council consideration of this matter."

CONSENSUS STATEMENT

The Nigerian Representative stated, on August 10, his belief that

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the effectiveness of the New Zealand proposal required that there be a consensus to that effect in the Security Council. He observed that an investigation would be of no use if the parties, including those fairly or unfairly charged with an attack, did not cooperate. His suggestion that the Security Council adjourn to seek a consensus was supported by France and since there was no objection the Council followed this course.

Negotiations among Council members resulted in the following consensus, which was read by the President of the Council on August 16:

> The President, having noted that the debate which took place has its origin in a complaint presented by the Representative of the United Kingdom . . . and that the elements on which the complaint is founded are contested by the United Arab Republic and Yemen and that the statements made by the members of the Council have not been able to produce at this stage a constructive solution, believes that he is authorized to ask the parties concerned each on his part to contribute in lessening the tension and to invite the Secretary-General to continue his good offices in an endeavour to settle the outstanding question in agreement with the parties concerned.

The U.S. Representative said that while his delegation would have preferred more precise action by the Security Council, he was encouraged that the Council was able to achieve agreement. He said that the United States understood from their acceptance of the consensus that the parties concerned would extend to the Secretary-General the full cooperation that it called for.

Oman

In a resolution of December 17, 1965, the 20th General Assembly had invited the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (referred to as the Committee of 24 or the Special Committee) to examine the situation in Oman, and had requested the Secretary-General to take, in consultation with the Committee of 24, appropriate measures to implement the resolution. Although a U.N. *Ad Hoc* Committee had concluded in 1965 that Oman could not be considered a colony or protectorate in a formal sense, the December 1965 General Assembly resolution treated it as a "territory," and called upon the United Kingdom to cease "repressive actions" there, withdraw troops, release political prisoners, and eliminate "British domination."

The Committee of 24 heard petitioners concerning Oman during its 1966 meetings in Cairo but did not debate the issue either there or upon its return to New York. The Committee subsequently reported to the 21st General Assembly that owing to lack of time it had not completed its discussions on Oman and would take up the question in 1967. The Secretary-General reported that it had been agreed that he would consult the Committee of 24 after the Committee completed its consideration.

At the 21st General Assembly the Fourth Committee (Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories) considered the Oman question at four meetings in mid-December. It heard 2 petitioners and 14 speakers in the general debate.

On December 17 Mali and Indonesia introduced a draft resolution on Oman which was finally sponsored by 27 Asian and African states and Yugoslavia. This draft expressed the Assembly's concern about "the serious and critical situation arising from the colonial policies" pursued by the United Kingdom in "the territory." It (1) reaffirmed the right of the people of the territory to self-determination and independence and recognized the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve the rights laid down in the U.N. Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Dec-

laration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples; (2) deplored both the British refusal to implement the General Assembly's resolutions and the British policies "in installing and supporting any unrepresentative regime in the Territory in contravention of the relevant General Assembly Resolutions"; (3) recognized that natural resources of the territory belonged to the people of Oman and that the concessions given to foreign monopolies without their consent constituted a violation of the rights of the people; (4) considered that the removal of military bases there was "essential" because their maintenance was "a major hindrance to the exercise by the people of their right to self-determination and independence," and was "prejudicial to the peace and security of the region"; (5) called upon the United Kingdom to cease all repressive action, withdraw British troops, release political prisoners and eliminate British domination in any form; and (6) appealed to all member states "to render all possible assistance to the people of the Territory in their struggle to attain freedom and independence." The draft also asked the Committee of 24 to continue its examination of the situation in Oman and the Secretary-General to take, in consultation with the Committee of 24, appropriate measures for implementation of the General Assembly resolutions on Oman.

The U.K. Representative said that he would have no hesitation in voting against this draft resolution. He observed that the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman was not a British colony but an independent, sovereign state, and the United Nations was not competent to interfere in the domestic affairs of an independent state. There were no British military forces in Oman apart from 50 officers seconded as instructors and the personnel of two airfields which were used to service British aircraft and were not military bases. The United Kingdom had not carried out any attacks, repressive actions, or bombings in Oman; it had merely intervened militarily 7 years previously, at the request of the Sultan, to quell a rebellion organized from abroad. With regard to the paragraph of the draft resolution describing the regime in Oman as "unrepresentative," the U.K. Representative pointed out that the position of the Sultan was hereditary and that the United Kingdom had no part whatever in appointing its occupant. A number of U.N. member states, including India, maintained consular relations with the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman and would know more about the actual situation there than the petitioners, who had left some time ago. The U.K. Representative urged the Committee to study the facts carefully and be guided by them.

The Committee nevertheless adopted the draft resolution by a vote of 61 to 15 (U.K., U.S.), with 22 abstentions.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Eugenie Anderson, explained that the United States had voted against the draft resolution because it considered that the Fourth Committee was not authorized to concern itself with the situation in a sovereign state. The United States, she said, had maintained treaty relations with the Sultanate for many years.

The 28-power draft resolution was adopted by the General Assembly in plenary session December 20 by a vote of 70 to 18 (U.K., U.S.), with 28 abstentions.

Palestine Question

ENFORCEMENT OF THE GENERAL ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS

Tensions between Israel and neighboring Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon periodically flared in 1965 and 1966 as a result of terrorist incidents against Israel and of counteractions by Israel. The Security Council considered this situation three times be-

tween July and November 1966: first, to consider both a complaint by Syria against the Israeli air attack of July 14 and a countercomplaint by Israel; next, at the request of Israel, to consider terrorist incidents; and, finally, at the request of Jordan, to consider the Israeli November 13 raid on the Jordanian town of As Samua.

First Security Council Consideration: Israeli Air Attack of July 14

On July 14 Israel reported to the Security Council that in the preceding two days four incidents had taken place in Israel near her border with Syria: twice explosive charges had damaged buildings and twice mines had exploded under vehicles. Two Israelis had been killed and two wounded. In each case, according to the Israeli letter to the Security Council, tracks led from the scene of the explosion toward the Syrian border. As a result of these incidents, Israel reported, Israeli Air Force planes had carried out a "brief attack" on Syrian tractors and mechanical equipment to the southeast of the Israeli village of Almagor, where an "especially grave" incident had occurred July 13.

Syria, in a letter to the Council dated July 18, termed the Israeli air strike a "shameful aggression" committed "in flagrant violation of the General Armistice Agreement" and "in defiance of the United Nations." Syria said that the Israeli assertion that the perpetrators of the incidents came from Syria was "groundless." Moreover, the machinery competent to investigate such incidents was the Mixed Armistice Commission, which Israel had been boycotting.

On July 21 Syria requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider "the grave situation arising from the act of aggression committed by Israel against Syrian territory on the afternoon of July 14, 1966, an act that seriously threatens peace and security in the area."

On July 22 Israel also asked for an urgent meeting of the Council to consider: (1) "Repeated acts of aggression committed by Syrian armed forces and by armed saboteur groups operating from Syrian territory against citizens and territory of Israel . . .," and (2) "Declarations by official spokesmen of the Syrian Government containing threats against the people, territorial integrity and political independence of Israel, and openly inciting to war against Israel . . ."

The Council met July 25 and, after a lengthy procedural debate, decided to inscribe the Syrian complaint as subitem (a) on the Council agenda and the Israeli complaint as subitem (b), with subitem (a) to be discussed first. The Council requested separate simultaneous reports on these items from the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) in Jerusalem and agreed that upon receipt of the reports the Council could if it wished reconsider its decision to consider subitem (a) before (b).

UNTSO Reports. On July 26 and 27 the Secretary-General gave the Security Council separate reports by UNTSO on the Syrian and Israeli complaints. The Secretary-General also submitted a note on UNTSO's efforts to relieve tension along the Israel-Syria border.

The UNTSO report on the Syrian complaint stated that U.N. military observers had seen four to six Israeli jet aircraft attack targets in Syria on July 14 but that they had not been in position to observe directly the target area. Subsequently, investigating U.N. observers had seen six caterpillar-type tractors and a small supply dump which had been destroyed, burnt metal sheets, and a damaged compressor truck. The U.N. observers also saw one dead and five injured persons who were presented as casualties of the raid. (A subsequent report raised the number of dead to two.)

The UNTSO report on the Israeli complaint verified damage from explosions in each of three incidents in

Israel on July 13 and 14. U.N. observers viewed tracks between the scene of each of the incidents and points either on or very close to the Syrian border.

The Secretary-General's note reported that as a result of increasing tension between Israel and Syria in May the UNTSO Chief of Staff had proposed that (1) both sides should fulfill their obligation to observe an unconditional cease-fire, and (2) U.N. observers should visit the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) and the defensive areas on both sides to ascertain whether allegations concerning the increases in forces were well founded. These proposals were accepted and the visits took place on June 13. The Chief of Staff also obtained a moratorium on cultivation in the southern DMZ to permit discussion of claims by the two sides of cultivation rights in the area.

On July 14 the Chief of Staff expressed to both Israel and Syria his "deepest concern" about the situation which had resulted from the mining incidents in Israel and the Israeli air strike. He appealed to both parties to reestablish the unconditional cease-fire which they had accepted at the beginning of June. Both sides agreed and the discussion of cultivation problems resumed.

In subsequent statements the Syrian and Israeli Representatives expanded on their letters to the Security Council and interpreted the UNTSO reports as supporting their position. The Syrian Representative remarked on the lack of any evidence that the tracks seen by the U.N. observers were made by the individuals responsible for the explosions and contrasted this to the verification of the Israeli air attack on Syria. The Israeli Representative stressed that the UNTSO Chief of Staff had referred to the Israeli raid as a response to the terrorist incidents in his appeal to Israel and Syria following those events. The Israeli Representative also cited the evidence in the UNTSO report on the Israeli complaint as indicating that the individuals responsible came from Syria.

U.S. Position. The U.S. Representative, Assistant Secretary of State Joseph J. Sisco, said on July 29 that it was "very regrettable" that a period of calm along the Israel-Syria border had been broken by "deplorable terrorist incidents." He said that from the evidence in the UNTSO reports it seemed "reasonably clear" the individuals responsible had come from Syria, that the United States could not understand why Damascus radio continued to broadcast communiques of the Fatah terrorist organization reporting raids across the border, and that the United States could not agree with the statement by the Syrian Representative that Syria had only a defensive responsibility and was not required to prevent raids across its borders. Mr. Sisco went on to say that the United States also considered it "deplorable" that Israel had replied to the raids in a manner causing additional civilian casualties and increasing the danger of continued and more serious breaches of the cease-fire. He affirmed that reliance on the U.N. peacekeeping machinery was called for rather than an air attack, and concluded by appealing to both sides to avoid resort to force.

The Syrian Representative subsequently attacked the United States for assisting Israel and accused the United States of attempting to minimize the gravity of the Israeli air attack, putting it on an equal footing with "dubious alleged incidents." He contrasted U.S. policy with what he termed "the Soviet Union's policy of standing for justice."

Viet-Nam Question Raised. Bulgaria and the Soviet Union also accused the United States of supporting Israel and, in addition, used the occasion to attack the "barbarous war of American imperialism in Southeast Asia." The U.S. Representative reminded members of the Council that the Soviet Union and Bulgaria had opposed a debate on Viet–Nam

in the Security Council earlier in the year—a debate which the United States had proposed in order to be sure that no possible chance for peace in Viet-Nam was missed. He said that the United States was not prepared to accept a double standard under which the U.S.S.R. could condemn U.S. policies in Viet-Nam while excusing itself from any responsibility for developments there. "By supplying war material to North Viet-Nam, by refusing to take any initiative in bringing about negotiations, the Soviet Union is in fact encouraging North Viet-Nam to prolong the war and providing Hanoi with the means of doing so," Mr. Sisco said. He asked the Soviet Union to "stop pussyfooting" and put its weight behind moving the Viet-Nam problem to the conference table.

Draft Resolution. On July 29 Jordan and Mali introduced a draft resolution covering only the Syrian complaint, which condemned the Israeli "wanton attack" of July 14 as a "flagrant violation" of the cease-fire, of the General Armistice Agreement between Israel and Syria, and of Israel's obligations under the Charter. The draft resolution called upon Israel to comply with its obligations under the U.N. Charter and warned that if it did not the Council would "have to consider what further measures should be invoked." It also called upon both Israel and Syria "to cooperate with the Chief of Staff in carrying out his responsibilities under the General Armistice Agreement and the pertinent resolutions of the Security Council," and urged reactivation of the Israel-Syria Mixed Armistice Commission and full use of the Mixed Armistice machinery. The draft made no mention of the Israeli complaint, although Council members had discussed both complaints during the debate.

Council Vote. Consideration of the Syrian and Israeli complaints ended on August 3 when the draft resolution was voted on but failed to receive the 9 votes necessary for adoption. The vote was 6 (Bulgaria, Jordan, Mali, Nigeria, Uganda, U.S.S.R.) to 0, with 9 (Argentina, China, France, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, U.K., U.S., Uruguay) abstentions. The U.S. Representative explained that he was unable to support the draft resolution because in the U.S. view it did not reflect "the relative degree of responsibility which the Governments of Syria and Israel share for the incidents of July 13 and 14." Others abstaining on the draft resolution, all of whom had either deplored or condemned the Israeli air attack, explained that they believed the Israeli action could not be considered in isolation. Uganda and Nigeria took the position that, since the Council had agreed to consider the Syrian complaint first, their vote for condemnation of the Israeli attack alone should not be regarded as an expression of opinion on the Israeli complaint.

Second Security Council Consideration: Terrorist Incidents of October 7–9

Israel reported additional terrorist attacks to the Security Council in September and then, on October 10, complained of two incidents which had occurred October 7–9: an explosion of two charges placed under an apartment house in a Jerusalem suburb and a mining incident south of Lake Tiberias, near the Syrian border, in which four Israeli border policemen were killed.

On October 12 Israel requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider (1) "acts of aggression committed by armed groups operating from Syrian territory against the citizens and territory of Israel, . . . in particular the sabotage and mine-laying incidents of 7–9 October 1966," and (2) "threats by Syria against the territorial integrity and political independence of Israel, and open Syrian incitement to war against Israel . . . ."

The Security Council met to consider the Israeli complaint the morn-

ing of October 14, thereby interrupting its consideration of the complaint by the Democratic Republic of the Congo against Portugal. (See page 22.) The Council then concluded its consideration of the Congolese complaint in the afternoon and resumed consideration of the Israeli complaint that evening, when Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban presented his case.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, also spoke at this session. He said that it was one of the bitter lessons of history in the Middle East and elsewhere that violence breeds violence. He stated that Israel had acted properly and wisely, in the U.S. view, in bringing its complaint to the Security Council. "There seems to be no doubt that there is a series of incidents which appear to be part of a pattern of action," Ambassador Goldberg continued. The Syrian Government, he noted, was not ignorant of the movements of the terrorist organization, El Fatah, which had taken responsibility for many of the attacks. The Syrian Government radio station had broadcast El Fatah communiques and had referred to El Fatah operations as legitimate and worthy of being supported and abetted. After reviewing Syria's responsibility under the Israel-Syria Armistice Agreement and the U.N. Charter, Ambassador Goldberg urged Syria to "take all necessary measures to insure that these obligations are put into practice—specifically, by insuring that its territory is not used as a base for terrorism or destruction, with or without the consent of the Syrian Government."

Syrian Mission Incident. During the first meeting on the Israeli complaint, 19 teenage members of the Brith Trumpeldor organization, a Zionist youth group, staged a sit-in at the offices of the Syrian Mission to the United Nations. The Jordanian Representative reported this demonstration to the Security Council. The U.S. Representative immediately replied that he had just been informed of the incident and had directed that the full force of the law be applied to rectify the situation. He said he deeply regretted and in no way condoned any illegal actions directed against any mission accredited to the United Nations. At the end of this meeting of the Council, he reported that the intruders at the Syrian Mission had been arrested and removed by the police on a complaint which he had made and signed on behalf of the U.S. Government. Ambassador Goldberg said, "I profoundly regret and apologize to the Syrian Government for this highly regrettable incident."

At the beginning of the evening session of the Council on October 14, the Representative of Uganda read a statement in which the Afro-Asian members of the United Nations expressed their "dismay and indignation" at the incident at the Syrian Mission and demanded "urgent steps to punish the attackers, as well as means for the prevention of similar attacks in the future, in order to ensure the safety of representatives of member states in the United Nations in accordance with the principle of extraterritoriality of diplomatic missions." In reply, the U.S. Representative reviewed his earlier statements and expressed regret that the Afro-Asian statement did not take note of them. He stressed that the United States had acted "vigorously, promptly, and firmly in the situation" and noted that perhaps the time had come when the United Nations "ought to consider the question of the sanctity of diplomatic missions everywhere, to determine whether or not our prompt action in this matter is being reciprocated in many places throughout the world."

UNTSO Report. The UNTSO report on the incidents was submitted to the Council on October 17. It stated that U.N. observers had seen the damaged apartment house in the Jerusalem suburbs, six sticks of ex-

plosives which an Israeli expert had removed from under one of the buildings before the arrival of the observers, and footprints between a point about 500 meters from the incident and the Armistice Demarcation Line. An attempt to track the footprints into Jordan was not successful. U.N. observers investigating the October 8 incident had seen a badly damaged jeep and a crater produced by the explosion, four bodies of border policemen reported to have been killed in the explosion, and clear tracks in the soft soil between the scene of the incident and a point 200 meters away, toward the Syrian border. At that point the tracks intersected a hard-surfaced road which ran into the DMZ. The U.N. observers searched for additional tracks in the DMZ, but the ground was dry and hard, and they were unsuccessful.

UNTSO also reported that Israel and Syria had agreed to an inspection of the DMZ and the defensive areas, which are roughly 6-kilometer strips on either side of the Armistice Demarcation Line. This inspection was conducted October 19. UNTSO reported that both sides had (1) some military personnel and weapons in the DMZ in violation of the Armistice Agreement and (2) certain heavy weapons in the defensive areas which were not permitted under the Armistice Agreement. UNTSO added, however, that there was no evidence of a buildup of forces on either side.

Security Council Debate. Israel maintained that Syria was mobilizing and supporting groups of saboteurs, training them in Syria, sending them into Israel either directly or through Jordan or Lebanon, and publicly hailing their activities. In doing this Syria violated article 3 paragraph 3 of the Israel-Syria General Armistice Agreement, which stated, "no warlike act or act of hostility shall be conducted from territory controlled by one of the parties to this Agreement against the other party or against civilians in territory under control of that party." It also contravened its obligations under the U.N. Charter. With regard to the UNTSO report, Israel argued that although it had not been possible to establish an unbroken line of tracks into Jordan and Syria, respectively, it would be "rash to conclude" that responsibility did not lie with Syria. Also, incursions from states other than Syria did not arise from the policies of those states but as a result of "unwanted use of their territory at Syria's initiative."

Syria rejected the Israeli accusation that it was responsible for the activities of the terrorist organization. The Syrian Representative observed that communiques of the organization were carried by mass media of other Arab states. He also explained that the 1.3 million Arab refugees in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and the U.A.R., whose rights to their homeland had been reaffirmed by scores of U.N. resolutions which had been ignored and disregarded by Israel, could not be prevented from "yearning for their homeland." The Syrian Representative said that the UNTSO report did not support the Israeli complaint. It was not Syria but Israel that had aggressive intentions, and he cited as an example the Israeli air strike which the Council had discussed in July.

U.S.–U.K. Draft Resolution. On October 28, after a week of consultations among Council members, the United States and the United Kingdom submitted a draft resolution which, after noting that the Fatah organization "had been responsible for a long series of destructive raids into Israel," (1) deplored the terrorist incidents as well as the casualties they had caused; (2) reminded Syria "to fulfil its obligations by taking all measures to prevent the use of its territory as a base of operation for acts constituting a violation of the Armistice Agreement"; (3) called for strict adherence to article 3 paragraph 3 of the Israel-Syria Armistice Agreement; (4) called upon Syria and Israel to cooperate fully with the U.N. ma-

chinery, including the Israel-Syria Mixed Armistice Commission, and to facilitate the work of UNTSO personnel; (5) stated the Council's intention to consider further as soon as possible what steps could be taken on the broader question of Arab-Israeli relations; and (6) requested the U.N. Secretary-General to follow closely the implementation of the resolution and to take any necessary measures to insure that the U.N. Armistice machinery could fulfill the functions assigned to it.

The U.S. Representative explained that the draft had been carefully worked out in broad consultations with other members of the Council. He said that U.S. policy firmly supported the maintenance of peace in the Middle East and sought to prevent all acts of violence across existing frontiers, regardless of the direction in which they occur. An essential point of the draft resolution was the second operative paragraph reminding Syria to fulfill its obligations by taking all measures to prevent terrorist attacks from its territory. Another significant element of the resolution—one which had been suggested by the Nigerian Representative—was the fifth paragraph, expressing the Council's intention to consider the broader question of Arab-Israeli relations. The United States would welcome such an examination. The U.S. Representative concluded by stating, "The draft resolution, with its emphasis on restraint, its concern for peace, and its recognition of the broader unresolved question . . . is an important and appropriate expression of what needs to be said and said promptly and decisively by the Council. I trust that this text of the resolution will receive widespread support in the Council."

However, the Malian Representative, speaking for the African members, requested adjournment of the debate to seek a consensus rather than vote immediately. This request was supported by the Soviet Union, France, Bulgaria, and Jordan, and as a result the Council adjourned without voting on the draft resolution.

Reports on DMZ and Israel–Syria Mixed Armistice Commission. On November 1 and 2, while efforts continued to achieve consensus, the Secretary-General submitted two additional reports which had been requested by Jordan on October 28. These were on the "Present Inability of the Israel-Syria Mixed Armistice Commission to Function and the Attitudes of the Parties Thereto" and "The Present Status of the Demilitarized Zone Set Up by the General Armistice Agreement between Israel and Syria." The Jordanian Representative had also requested a report on the status of the no man's lands between Israel and Jordan and the DMZ between Israel and Egypt, but had agreed that this report could follow some time later.

The report on the inability of the Israel-Syria Mixed Armistice Commission (ISMAC) to function said that ISMAC had not held regular meetings since 1951 as a result of a dispute over its competence in the DMZ. Israel took the position that ISMAC (consisting of two Israelis, two Syrians, and a senior U.N. observer as chairman) was not competent to deal with issues pertaining to the DMZ, asserting that such issues should be dealt with by the chairman of ISMAC in contact with the Israeli delegation. Syria held that ISMAC was competent to deal with complaints pertaining to the DMZ. In 1951 the Security Council had stated that it considered it "inconsistent with the objectives and intent of the Armistice Agreement to refuse to participate in meetings of the Mixed Armistice Commission" and, in 1962, urged that all steps necessary for reactivating ISMAC be promptly taken. The Secretary-General's report concluded that the inability of ISMAC to function "undoubtedly weakens the efforts to maintain quiet along the line between Israel and Syria."

With regard to the present status of the Israel-Syria DMZ, the Secretary-General reported that each side lodged complaints every day concerning fortifications of the other side in the DMZ. Israel did not request investigation of its complaints and restricted the movement of UNTSO observers so that they could not investigate the Syrian complaints. Inspections undertaken during periods of tension, such as that of October 19, did not allow an adequate visit to alleged fortifications. In 1956 the UNTSO Chief of Staff had asked both Israel and Syria to dismantle their fortifications in the DMZ. Syria had agreed to do so if Israel did, but Israel refused on the ground that Syria openly threatened Israel's security and that Israeli settlements in the DMZ could not therefore be denied "a maximum of elementary defense facilities." The Secretary-General said that the number of fortified military positions in the DMZ had probably increased since 1956–57. He also described cultivation problems in the DMZ and reported that efforts were continuing to find some solution.

Six–Power Draft Resolution. The consultations requested by Mali on October 28 concluded November 3 when Argentina, Japan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, and Uganda submitted a new draft resolution. Speaking for the cosponsors, the Representative of Uganda explained that a draft consensus which had been prepared by nonpermanent members of the Council was not acceptable to all members and therefore had been used as the basis for the six-power draft resolution.

This draft resolution (1) deplored the incidents which had been the subject of the debate, as well as the casualties they had caused; (2) invited Syria "to strengthen its measures for preventing incidents that constitute a violation of the General Armistice Agreement"; (3) invited Israel to cooperate fully with ISMAC; (4) invited Israel and Syria to facilitate the work of UNTSO personnel in their tasks of observation and investigation on both sides of the Armistice Demarcation Line; (5) urged both sides "to refrain from any action that might increase tension in the area"; and (6) requested the Secretary-General to report to the Council as appropriate.

The cosponsors felt that it was absolutely necessary for the Council to improve the situation in the Middle East. They did not want to condemn one or the other of the two parties; paragraph 2 therefore invited Syria to strengthen its measures to prevent incidents. The cosponsors were aware that Syria had been trying to prevent incidents but believed that the Syrian measures needed "to be strengthened to make absolutely certain that no incidents occur."

Council Vote. The Security Council finished its consideration of the Israeli complaint on November 4. Before any voting, the U.K. Representative requested that the U.S.–U.K. draft not take precedence over the six-power draft resolution. Then the Representative of Uganda said that the cosponsors could not agree to a separate vote on paragraph 2, as had been requested by Mali, because it "would definitely upset the balance that was originally intended" and because the reasons advanced against inclusion of paragraph 2 had not been "sufficiently convincing." The vote on the six-power draft resolution was 10 (Argentina, France, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Uganda, U.K., U.S., Uruguay) to 4 (Bulgaria, Jordan, Mali, U.S.S.R.), with China abstaining. Because of the negative vote (veto) cast by the U.S.S.R., a permanent member of the Security Council, the resolution was not adopted. The U.S. Representative stated that in light of the Soviet veto of even the milder text of the six-power draft resolution, the U.S.–U.K. draft resolution would not be pressed to a vote.

The Israeli Representative said that in spite of the Soviet veto the

complaint had been "vindicated in its essential, substantive aspects" because of the widespread support for the six-power draft resolution. The U.S. Representative commented that notwithstanding the inability to adopt a resolution, "under the Charter it is the continuing responsibility of the members of the Security Council, and especially of the permanent members, to exercise comparable influences against violence across frontiers in the Middle East and to do so regardless of the direction in which the violence occurs." Further, the language of the resolution and the vote taken "stand as a matter of record for all the world to see and for the parties to duly notice." The U.S. Representative urged that all U.N. members "exercise their direct influence to assure the implementation of the essential features of the resolution which only seeks peace and stability in the area."

Third Security Council Consideration: Israeli Raid Into Jordan, November 13

Another terrorist incident, in which three Israeli policemen were killed and six injured by a mine explosion, occurred on November 12 in the Hebron-Dead Sea area of Israel, just south of the Israel-Jordan border. On November 13 Israel conducted a raid into Jordan which was aimed primarily at the town of As Samua, south of Hebron.

In a letter dated November 14, Jordan drew the attention of the Security Council to the "grave situation" resulting from the "act of naked aggression committed by the Israeli armed forces on November 13, 1966." According to the Jordanian letter the Israeli raid was in brigade strength, supported by aircraft, heavy artillery, personnel carriers, and tanks. Jordan said it would supply information on the casualties and property damage caused by the raid as soon as a final report was received, and reserved its right to call for a Security Council meeting.

On November 15 Jordan asked for an urgent meeting of the Council.

UNTSO Reports. When the Council met on the Jordanian complaint November 16, the Secretary-General summarized preliminary reports received from UNTSO observers. They had observed 125 houses, 1 medical clinic, 1 six-classroom school, and 20 military vehicles totally destroyed in the Jordanian town of As Samua. They had also seen 1 other building, 15 stone huts, and 3 tents destroyed at locations outside As Samua. Total casualties had not been reported.

The written UNTSO report, submitted to the Council on November 18, repeated the above figures on damage seen. The UNTSO observers also reported many tracks of tanks and armored personnel carriers and several positions where tanks had apparently been deployed to cover roads leading into As Samua. They had seen the dead body of a woman, a large area of blood-soaked ground in front of the house where the body of the woman was found, and 20 bullet impact points on the adjacent house. Apparent total casualties were 3 civilians and 15 Jordanian military personnel killed, and 17 civilians and 37 military personnel wounded.

The report said that when notified of the raid by Jordan at 6:46 a.m., November 13, UNTSO had immediately tried to arrange a cease-fire but had been unable to reach the Israeli delegation to the Israel-Jordan Mixed Armistice Commission. A cease-fire was finally agreed to for 9:45 a.m. At 10:10 a.m. Jordan informed UNTSO that the Israeli forces had withdrawn and the firing had stopped.

U.N. observers were able to talk with Jordanians who viewed the raid but were not permitted to interview Israelis who participated in it. As a result the UNTSO report contained, in addition to the observations of the U.N. military observers, statements by Jordanian eyewitnesses but no state-

ments from the Israeli side. Jordanian witnesses said that the Israeli force consisted of two columns with more than 40 half-tracks in each, that Israeli aircraft bombed the village, and that Israel had used approximately 80 Patton tanks.

Security Council Debate. The Jordanian position was that the Israeli raid called for "most urgent action by the Security Council to arrest an already deteriorating situation in the area." The Jordanian Representative based his description of the raid and its effects on the UNTSO report. He observed that Israel had said in the past that it had no complaint against the Government of Jordan, and that the Government of Jordan did not help, encourage, or have any part in the terrorist incidents. The Jordanian Representative reviewed previous Security Council and Israel-Jordan Mixed Armistice Commission decisions against Israel. He urged the Council to go beyond the type of action it had taken in the past, which he said had proved futile, and adopt mandatory sanctions against Israel under chapter VII of the U.N. Charter.

The Israeli Representative, on the other hand, stressed the complicated security problem caused for Israel by the policies and actions of its hostile neighbors. There was no purpose, he said, in disapproving a specific action such as the Israeli raid without regard to the difficulties which prompted it. The UNTSO was not designed to cope with terrorist attacks. What, therefore, could the Government of Israel do in such a situation, in view of its responsibility for the security of the country and its citizens?

Terrorism across the Jordanian border into Israel had become increasingly frequent, particularly in the area south of Hebron, the Israeli Representative said. Certain Jordanian villages had served as bases for terrorist and saboteur groups operating into Israel, and Jordanians living in the area had harbored and assisted the terrorists without any serious interference from the Jordanian security authorities. Even if Syria was the basic source of this terrorist activity, Jordan must be held to its commitment to prevent any attack from its territory.

In addition, the Israeli Representative disputed certain aspects of reports of the raid. He said that only 10 Israeli tanks had been used, and none of them were Patton tanks; that only 400 men were involved in the operation; that there was no bombardment or strafing from the air; and that there was no artillery shelling. The sole objective of the Israeli action was to demolish a limited number of empty houses, after their occupants had been evacuated. The number of houses demolished was far less than the number stated in the UNTSO report, according to the Israeli Representative.

All 15 members of the Security Council were highly critical of the Israeli action. A number of them, however, also mentioned the mining incident of November 12 and other terrorist incidents in Israel.

U.S. Position. On November 13 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, had issued a statement strongly deploring the "large-scale retaliatory raid by Israel" and also deploring the terrorist incidents in Israel which preceded it. In the Security Council on November 16 he said of the raid:

> . . . [the] consequences in human lives and in destruction far surpass the cumulative total of the various acts of terrorism conducted against the frontiers of Israel. . . . this large-scale military action cannot be justified, explained away, or excused by the incidents which preceded it, in which the Government of Jordan has not been implicated. This is not a new attitude by my Government. My Government has expressed itself about retaliatory raids in the past. Deplorable as these preceding incidents were . . . this deliberate, governmental decision must be judged as the conscious act of responsible leaders of a member state and therefore on an entirely different level from the earlier incidents, which we continue to deplore. It was undertaken without proper

utilization of United Nations machinery in the area, notably the Mixed Armistice Commission . . . . It was also undertaken without any effort to use again, and again if necessary, the good offices of the Security Council, a failure made even more inexplicable by the fact that the Council had just completed extended discussion of an Israeli complaint against Syria for similar incidents, during which over two-thirds of the members had spoken out against such terroristic activities. . . .

The U.S. Representative declared that a policy of retaliation could only lead to disaster in the area. Instead, the parties should use the U.N. peacekeeping machinery, which had generally functioned better on the Israel-Jordan border than in some other areas.

While thus stressing that the United States could not condone the Israeli raid, the U.S. Representative also reminded the Council of the terrorist incidents in Israel which constituted "unfinished business before the Council of the first magnitude." He urged the Council to "speak out clearly against terrorist incidents, . . . in the interests of equity and peace and security and fairness in order to deal with the total situation."

In conclusion, he referred to the suggestion of the Nigerian Representative at the previous series of Council meetings that the Security Council consider the broader question of Arab-Israel relations in an attempt to strengthen the peace in the area. He endorsed this suggestion and said that it was time for the Council "to really make its great contribution toward stabilizing the situation" in the Middle East.

Draft Resolution. On November 24 Nigeria and Mali tabled a draft resolution which, in its preambular paragraphs, referred to the raid as a "large-scale and carefully planned military action" and reaffirmed previous Security Council resolutions condemning past incidents of reprisal in breach of the Armistice Agreement. The penultimate preambular paragraph referred to the terrorist incidents by recalling repeated Security Council resolutions "asking for the cessation of violent incidents across the demarcation line" and by stating that the Council was "not overlooking past incidents of this nature." The final preambular paragraph reaffirmed "the necessity for strict adherence to the General Armistice Agreement." In its operative paragraphs, the draft (1) deplored the loss of life and heavy damage to property resulting from the raid; (2) censured Israel "for this large-scale military action in violation of the United Nations Charter and of the General Armistice Agreement between Israel and Jordan"; (3) emphasized to Israel "that actions of military reprisal cannot be tolerated and that if they are repeated, the Security Council will have to consider further and more effective steps as envisaged in the Charter to ensure against the repetition of such acts"; and (4) requested the Secretary-General "to keep the situation under review and to report to the Security Council as appropriate."

In introducing the draft resolution, the Nigerian Representative explained that although the text did not "correspond exactly to the wishes of anybody," he believed that it went "the furthest distance to meet the wishes of all the members as . . . expressed in this debate."

Council Vote. The Security Council adopted the draft resolution on November 25 by a vote of 14 to 0, with New Zealand abstaining.

The U.S. Representative stated that the United States had cast an affirmative vote because it believed the resolution was directed toward maintenance of peace in the Middle East.

The Representative of New Zealand explained that his delegation abstained because it did not believe the resolution dealt adequately with the total situation within which the act of retaliation took place. The Representatives of Uganda and the

Netherlands noted that, although they did not believe the resolution dealt adequately with the total situation, they supported it. The Representative of the U.S.S.R. said that the resolution contained "but the minimum of what should be undertaken by the Security Council . . . ."

UNTSO Strengthening

On November 29 the Secretary-General circulated among Security Council members a note on ways to increase the effectiveness of UNTSO, which operates along Israel's frontiers with Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan. The Secretary-General observed that a number of members of the Council had referred to this problem during the three series of meetings since July on violations of the General Armistice Agreements.

UNTSO, the Secretary-General said, was limited in scope and effectiveness because it served as an "observation operation whose principal function is to help maintain peace by servicing the armistice machinery established by the parties themselves." As an observation mission, UNTSO had no authority to give orders, reach judgments, or forcibly prevent actions. It investigated incidents when asked to, and its effectiveness depended on the cooperation of the parties concerned. The observers were not deployed along the armistice lines as a buffer force. Such deployment would require a new mandate and a "peace force" instead of the existing total of 133 observers.

UNTSO's effectiveness as an instrument for safeguarding the peace could be strengthened, however, without changing its existing mandate or function according to the Secretary-General. He said that the parties concerned should: (1) cooperate fully with UNTSO in the performance of its functions; (2) extend to investigating UNTSO observers full freedom of movement in the area of incidents, in the demilitarized zones, along and across the armistice demarcation lines and in no man's lands between the lines; (3) make it possible for the Chairman of the Mixed Armistice Commissions to contact responsible authorities at any time of the day or night; (4) agree to UNTSO deployment of mobile observation posts in sensitive sectors or wherever it appeared that an UNTSO presence might avert a military confrontation; (5) give UNTSO every facility for getting its observers to the scene of an incident as quickly as possible; (6) agree to wider employment of UNTSO experts in its conduct of investigations, including trackers with UNTSO dogs and handlers, surveyors, demolition and explosive experts, and interpreters for both Arabic and Hebrew languages. The Secretary-General also said that having a helicopter available and a speed boat stationed on Lake Tiberias would "greatly facilitate" UNTSO operations, although they would "substantially increase" the cost of the operation.

The Secretary-General's recommendations were not discussed by the Council, but Assistant Secretary of State Joseph J. Sisco said in a public address in New York on December 7 that the United States "welcomes and supports the Secretary-General's recent recommendation to strengthen the U.N. Truce Supervision Organization." The states concerned should recognize, he said, that in their own interest they should aid and not hamper the work of U.N. observers, and that they should permit the access and provide the facilities which observers may reasonably request. "Only in this way can the most accurate summary of events be reported to the United Nations, and only thus can the responsibility for what has happened be most clearly fixed."

UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCE (UNEF)

The United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) has been acting since late 1956 as a border patrol and

buffer force on the Armistice Demarcation Line (ADL) and the International Frontier (IF) between Israel and the United Arab Republic. The U.N. Secretary-General reported on September 7, 1966, that UNEF "continues to be a major stabilizing influence and the principal means of maintaining quiet in the area in which it operates" and that "despite a reduction in its strength, UNEF has continued to discharge its responsibility effectively."

The Secretary-General noted that there had been a slight decrease in the number of violations on the ADL and IF in 1965–66 and that most of the violations were of a minor nature.

The Secretary-General also observed that "despite almost a decade of relative quiet along the long line on which UNEF is deployed, relations between the peoples on the opposite sides of the line are such that if the United Nations buffer should be removed, serious fighting would, quite likely, soon be resumed."

During 1966 the Secretary-General substantially accomplished the reorganization of UNEF along lines recommended in the U.N. survey team's report of December 13, 1965. The survey team had undertaken a review of UNEF functions with the view of "seeking means of economizing without lowering the effectiveness of the operations." A principal accomplishment of the reorganization was a 622-man reduction in UNEF from 4,581 in December 1965 to 3,959 by July 31, 1966. The Secretary-General further reported that "the intention is, within the coming months, given a continuance of existing favorable conditions and relative quiet, to reduce the Force to a basic strength of approximately 3,400 officers and men." He warned, however, that "any significant lowering of this basic figure . . . would make it impossible for the Force to carry on as a peace force with its present functions and responsibilities." Streamlining and reorganizing UNEF reduced the costs of operation. For a discussion of the details of the cost reduction and financing of UNEF, see page 275.

UNITED NATIONS CONCILIATION COMMISSION FOR PALESTINE (PCC)

The PCC (composed of France, Turkey, and the United States) issued its 24th Progress Report on September 30, 1966. The report stated that the Commission had held a series of meetings throughout the year during which it "examined various ways in which it might be possible to intensify its efforts with any prospect of advancing matters toward the implementation of paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III)," which had called for repatriation or compensation of the Palestinian refugees. It concluded that "all of the ways envisaged presupposed substantial changes in the situation" and that it "had to recognize that there was no evidence that such changes were taking place." The report mentioned that on September 30, 1966, the appointment of the Commission's technical representative would end. He had helped in the identification and evaluation of Arab refugee immovable property holdings in Israel, and his appointment had been extended 6 months in order to permit additional time for possible meetings with representatives of Arab host governments.

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND WORKS AGENCY FOR PALESTINE REFUGEES IN THE NEAR EAST (UNRWA)

21st General Assembly Consideration

The 21st General Assembly's consideration of the Palestine refugee item began October 17 in the Special Political Committee. As in the past, the item appeared on the agenda as the annual report of the Commissioner General of UNRWA. Opening the debate with presentation of his report, Commissioner General Laurence Michelmore emphasized the continuing financial problems of the

Agency and predicted a budget deficit of approximately $4 million for 1967 unless contributions were increased. He discussed the problem of rectification of the ration rolls, stating that some progress had been made, particularly in Lebanon and the Gaza Strip. He pointed out that arrangements had been made for additional donations amounting to $150,000 to meet the total cost of rations consumed by men undergoing military training under the auspices of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and assured those governments which had objected to the use of UNRWA funds to feed PLO military recruits that their contributions would not be used for that purpose.

The Special Political Committee heard 40 speakers during the debate. The Committee also agreed to hear members of the PLO, stipulating as it had the previous year that its permission to allow these representatives to speak did not signify recognition of the PLO by the Committee.

U.S. Position. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Harding Bancroft, addressed the Committee on November 1 and introduced a draft resolution. He pointed out that it remained the responsibility of all members of the Assembly to promote progress toward a solution of the refugee problem. He praised the accomplishments of UNRWA's health and education programs and strongly supported the suggestion of the Commissioner General in his annual report that the education program be further expanded and improved. He then commented on the perennial problem of rectifying the relief rolls, stating that despite some reported success in carrying out previous General Assembly directives for rectification, much more needed to be done. He referred to the problem posed by UNRWA's feeding of refugees undergoing military training in the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA) and reiterated the U.S. objection to this practice made the previous year, namely, that the United States "considers it inadmissible for a U.N. agency to supply rations to men serving in an army dedicated to the solution of the repatriation question by armed force and, indeed, to the overthrow of the government of a member of the United Nations." He noted that a financial arrangement had been worked out by the Commissioner General and the host governments to meet the total cost of rations being consumed by PLA refugee recruits but stated "the Assembly should not give the impression that it condones or regards with indifference the involvement of any United Nations agency with an organization which avows such purposes."

The U.S. Representative then turned to the crucial problem of UNRWA's finances. He said it was clear that if UNRWA failed to receive sufficient funds it would be forced to take some hard decisions about how and where to curtail its services. "The United States, for its part," he stated, "will continue to give its fair share of financial support to UNRWA," and shares "the hope of the Commissioner General that all governments will contribute generously to provide the refugees with their essential needs."

U.S. Draft Resolution. The U.S. draft resolution followed closely the resolution adopted the previous year. In its operative paragraphs it (1) noted that the situation of the refugees continued to be a matter of serious concern; (2) thanked the Commissioner General and other agencies and organizations for continued assistance to the refugees; (3) directed attention to the critical financial position of UNRWA; (4) noted with concern that contributions continued to fall short of needs; (5) called upon all governments to make the most generous efforts possible to cover UNRWA's anticipated budget deficiency; (6) noted with concern that

"despite limited progress, further measures are required toward the rectification of the relief rolls," and accordingly directed the Commissioner General "to take such measures, including rectification of the rolls, as to assure in cooperation with the Governments concerned the most equitable distribution of relief based on need"; and (7) noted with regret that the PCC "was unable because of the unchanged situation in the area to find a means to achieve progress on the implementation of paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III)" (see page 49) and called upon "the Governments concerned to cooperate so that the Commission may continue its efforts toward that end."

Somalia introduced four amendments to the U.S. draft resolution, three of which were accepted and one defeated. One Somali amendment expanded paragraph 5 of the U.S. draft resolution by including the clause, "and, therefore, urges noncontributing Governments to contribute and contributing Governments to consider increasing their contributions." Another amendment changed paragraph 6 of the U.S. draft resolution to read, "*Directs* the Commissioner General to continue his efforts in taking such measures, including rectification of the relief rolls, as to assure, in cooperation with the Governments concerned, the most equitable distribution of relief based on need." The third adopted amendment added a final paragraph from the previous year's resolution which called upon the Palestine Conciliation Commission to intensify its efforts for the implementation of paragraph 11 of Resolution 194 (III). The fourth Somali amendment, which would have, in paragraph 7, called only upon the Government of Israel to cooperate with the Palestine Conciliation Commission, was defeated. The U.S. draft resolution as amended was passed in the Committee by a vote of 65 (U.S.) to 0, with 45 abstentions, on November 14 and was adopted by the General Assembly on November 17 by a vote of 68 (U.S.) to 0, with 39 abstentions.

Property Custodian Proposal. A separate draft resolution presented by Afghanistan, Malaysia, Pakistan, and Somalia called for the appointment of a custodian "to protect and administer Arab property, assets, and property rights in Israel and to receive income derived therefrom on behalf of the rightful owners." This resolution was defeated in the Committee on November 14 by a vote of 36 in favor, 38 against, with 26 abstentions. The United States opposed this draft resolution, which had also been proposed in 1965 in identical form, because (1) it believed it would complicate rather than improve chances for solving the refugee problem; (2) it did not believe that the United Nations had the right under the Charter or international law to set up such a custodianship in a sovereign state; (3) it could not see how the United Nations could constrain a member state to cooperate in a custodianship against its will and the Secretary-General would thus be in the embarrassing position of having to try to enforce an unenforceable resolution; and finally, (4) it believed that custodian and similar proposals should be considered as part of the general question of compensation to Arab refugees who left property behind in Israel, as called for under paragraph 11 of Resolution 194 (III).

Financial Pledges for 1967 Program

At a meeting on December 2, 1966, 32 representatives of governments contributing to UNRWA pledged the equivalent of $30.1 million for its support. In addressing the representatives, Commissioner General Michelmore stressed the critical financial situation of UNRWA. He said that the major cause for the increase in UNRWA's budget for 1966–67 was a 5-percent increase in the number of elementary school chil-

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dren and a 10-percent increase in the number of preparatory school children. In 1966–67, he continued, UNRWA would need $39.3 million to carry on essential services and from information available to him, "it has seemed probable that we [UNRWA] would be more than $4 million short of the target. If this should finally prove to be the case, the only alternative would be to reduce some services to the refugees." Any curtailment of services, he added, would bring hardship and suffering to the refugees and threaten still more their already precarious existence.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Harding F. Bancroft, stated that the United States recognized that a real need for the support of Palestinian refugees continued and that the humanitarian aspects of the problem had not diminished over the years. He pledged, on behalf of the United States, $22.2 million in cash and foodstuffs for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967. The U.S. pledge reflected a reduction of $700,000 in its cash contribution from that of FY 1966, pursuant to congressional action. As in the past, the U.S. contribution was to be available only to the extent that it did not exceed 70 percent of the total governmental contributions.

The U.S. Representative expressed concern about the budgetary deficiencies of the Agency and urged noncontributing governments to contribute to UNRWA, since if the appeal contained in the resolution just adopted by the General Assembly were heeded new contributions "could go a long way in relieving the Agency's financial problem." He also expressed concern that if the Agency were not to receive adequate financial support that "its very worthwhile program of education may have to be curtailed." He urged that the Commissioner General use as much of the U.S. contribution as possible for the education program. The U.S. Representative said that the "implementation of a far-reaching rectification of the ration rolls" would help relieve the Agency's financial difficulties. He called attention to the U.S. statements in both the Special Political Committee and in the plenary, which made clear the U.S. Government's opposition to the principle of the use of UNRWA rations for Palestine Liberation Army recruits and noted the assurances of the Commissioner General in the Agency's annual report that the U.S. contribution "will not be used to furnish assistance to refugees receiving military training under the auspices of the Palestine Liberation Organization."

South Africa—Apartheid

South Africa's official policy of racial discrimination (*apartheid*) was considered during 1966 by the General Assembly's Special Committee on the Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (also known as the Special Committee on *Apartheid*), and, during the 21st General Assembly, by the Assembly's Special Political Committee and in plenary sessions. In addition, aspects of the *apartheid* question were considered by a special international seminar on *apartheid* held at Brasilia, Brazil, from August 23 to September 4 in accordance with a resolution of the 20th General Assembly. The Security Council did not consider *apartheid* during 1966.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON APARTHEID

The Special Committee on *Apartheid,* established in 1962 by the 17th General Assembly, consists of Algeria, Costa Rica, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, the Philippines, and Somalia. In 1965 the 20th General Assembly decided to enlarge the Special Committee by six members, to be appointed by the President of the Assembly on the basis of (1) primary responsibility with

regard to world trade; (2) primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security under the U.N. Charter; and (3) equitable geographic distribution.

In a letter of March 31, 1966, the President of the 20th General Assembly told the Secretary-General that on the basis of his consultations with member states he was unable to select six additional members within the precise requirements set forth by the General Assembly. Further, he did not believe that the resolution allowed for selection based on different criteria. He expressed the view that it was unlikely that further probing would modify the situation and suggested that the question of enlarging the Special Committee be reexamined at the next session of the Assembly. However, on April 14, the Special Committee requested the President of the Assembly to make formal approaches to the member states concerned and inform it of their responses as soon as possible.

In a letter dated June 14 the President told the Secretary-General that he had made the requested approaches to 19 member states (Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Ceylon, Denmark, France, Japan, Italy, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States) and that 14 of them had indicated their unwillingness to serve on the Special Committee. He was therefore still unable to designate six additional members. The U.S.S.R. stated it was prepared to accept membership; Denmark and Italy stated that they were prepared to accept membership if it was found possible to enlarge the Committee in accordance with the criteria established by the General Assembly resolution; replies from Canada and Ceylon had not been received. However, Ceylon later stated its unwillingness to accept membership on the Special Committee. In a letter dated May 31 the United States recalled to the President of the Assembly its earlier informal response that it was not prepared to take part in the work of the Special Committee.

Report of June 27

In a special report to the General Assembly and the Security Council, adopted unanimously on June 27, the Special Committee commended the U.S.S.R. for its positive response and considered that refusal to participate in the Committee, particularly by South Africa's major trading partners—including France, the United Kingdom, and the United States, who were permanent members of the Security Council—constituted a "most disturbing precedent" and had "grave implications." The refusal, said the Committee, seriously undermined the authority and prestige of the United Nations as an international forum for harmonizing differences and resolving international conflicts by peaceful means. In particular, the refusal of the Great Powers represented "an unwillingness to join not only in effective action to remove the threat to international peace and security, but even in earnest discussion to harmonize any differences in attitudes concerning appropriate measures." The question required the urgent attention of the General Assembly.

The report reviewed developments concerning *apartheid* since the organization of the United Nations but stated that the Special Committee had delayed consideration of developments since the 20th General Assembly pending the outcome of the enlargement question. It had considered that the dialogue that would have resulted from the proposed enlargement would have enabled the Special Committee to enter into a new and important phase in the discharge of its mandate to assist in adopting necessary measures on *apartheid*. The Special Committee expressed its deep regret that, as a result of the uncooperative attitude

shown by certain member states, such a dialogue was not possible at present. The Committee said, however, that it would continue to discharge its mandate to the best of its ability.

Report of October 21

On October 21 the Special Committee decided unanimously to submit a report to the General Assembly and the Security Council covering developments since August 10, 1965. The Special Committee made a number of detailed and specific recommendations which, among other things, deplored the failure of the main trading partners of South Africa to abide by General Assembly resolutions, and urged them to "disengage" from economic and financial relations with South Africa, since their attitude was aggravating the danger of a violent racial conflict. It endorsed an international campaign under U.N. auspices against *apartheid;* called for all possible assistance to those fighting *apartheid* and those who are victims of it; and called on all states to abide by sanctions against South Africa when the Security Council should decide on them.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

During the 21st General Assembly, the agenda item, "The policy of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa," which has been before the Assembly since 1952, was considered by the Special Political Committee from December 2 to 12. The Special Political Committee had before it the reports of the Special Committee on *Apartheid,* the Report of the U.N. Human Rights Seminar held in Brasilia (see page 152), and the report by the Secretary-General on the U.N. Trust Fund for South Africa (see page 57), to which was annexed a report by the Committee of Trustees of the Trust Fund.

On December 8 the Representative of Guinea introduced a draft resolution which was eventually sponsored by 40 African and Asian states, Cyprus, Hungary, and Trinidad and Tobago. For the most part, the draft resolution incorporated the recommendations made in the October 21 report of the Special Committee on *Apartheid.* Among other things, the policies of *apartheid* were condemned as a crime against humanity, and the Assembly reaffirmed its position that the situation in South Africa and the resulting explosive situation in southern Africa posed a grave threat to international peace and security.

The attitude of the main trading partners of South Africa, as evidenced by their failure to implement General Assembly resolutions, their refusal to join the *Apartheid* Committee, and "their increasing collaboration" with the Government of South Africa, was deplored as encouraging South Africa to persist in its racial policies. This "increasing collaboration" was said to have "aggravated the danger of a violent conflict," and the main trading partners were requested to take urgent steps toward disengagement from South Africa.

All member states were requested to comply with the Security Council embargo on the sale and delivery of arms, ammunition, military vehicles and equipment, and materials intended for their manufacture and maintenance; to discourage closer economic and financial relations with South Africa; to consider effective political, moral, and material assistance to those combating the policies of *apartheid;* to make adequate and generous contributions to humanitarian programs designed to assist victims of *apartheid;* and to endeavor to grant political asylum and extend travel and educational employment to refugees from South Africa.

The Secretary-General was asked to organize a conference or a seminar on the problems of *apartheid,* racial discrimination, and colonialism in southern Africa; to take steps for the periodic publication of statistics on

South Africa's international trade; to provide "necessary assistance" to the Special Committee in publicizing and reporting on any tightening of economic and financial relations between other states and South Africa; and to consult with the IBRD in order to secure that agency's compliance with the provisions of the General Assembly resolutions in 1965 which had called on the specialized agencies to withhold assistance from South Africa and Portugal until they abandoned their racial and colonial policies, respectively.

The attention of the Security Council was drawn to the fact that the situation in South Africa "constitutes a threat to international peace and security," that action under chapter VII of the U.N. Charter was essential in order to solve the problem of *apartheid,* and that universally applied mandatory economic sanctions provided the only means for a peaceful solution.

The draft resolution invited the Special Committee to continue to take all steps to discharge its mandate more effectively, including holding sessions away from Headquarters and sending a subcommittee on a mission to consult specialized agencies, regional organizations, states, and nongovernmental organizations on ways and means to promote the "international campaign" against *apartheid.*

U.S. Position

On December 10 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador George L. Killion, stated that the facts of the situation in South Africa were well known as a result of 20 years of consideration by the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and other forums. The implications of *apartheid* for U.S. foreign policy had recently been examined in detail in hearings conducted by the U.S. Congress. The world community, he said, had witnessed the increasingly stringent measures of discrimination and suppression of political and human rights that had been applied in South Africa in violation of the obligations accepted by South Africa when it signed the U.N. Charter.

The United States had hoped, he said, that South Africa would reassess its attitude toward *apartheid* in light of the constantly growing international concern at its failure to heed the numerous appeals of member states, including the United States. Instead, there had been a further implementation of the legislation and practices which were largely responsible for the tension existing in the area, and a continuation of the supply of arms to South Africa by countries other than the United States, notwithstanding the repeated call upon all states to comply with the Security Council embargo. No informed observer, he said, could view the situation in South Africa or indeed the whole of southern Africa without deep concern. He continued:

> . . . At stake is the welfare, the dignity, the political freedom of all Africans, white and black, both within and without South Africa. So long as South Africa continues on the perilous course which it has chosen, none of us will be able to live in the atmosphere of peace and freedom which is ours by right, nor will Africa, or members of this organization, be able to devote full time and attention to the monumental development problems facing us now and in the future.

There was no question, the U.S. Representative said, about the facts or the implications of the situation, nor did the United States believe there was any misunderstanding of the fact that almost all U.N. members were unalterably opposed to the policy of *apartheid.* What remained to be satisfactorily resolved was what appropriate and effective actions concerned governments might take, either unilaterally or through the United Nations, that might persuade South Africa to abandon the policy of *apartheid* and to insure for all South Africans equal rights to full participation in all aspects of the political, economic, and social life of the country.

The United States was emphatically opposed to and abhorred the actions and policies of the South African Government with respect to *apartheid*. The question had been given considerable attention by the U.S. Government and by U.S. citizens. The United States had enforced a rigorous embargo on the sale of arms, ammunition, military equipment and equipment for their maintenance and manufacture. U.S. action with regard to the arms embargo had been implicitly acknowledged by the Chairman of the Special Committee on *Apartheid* and, in fact, the United States had expressed its concern that South Africa continued to receive substantial quantities of modern and sophisticated weapons. Nevertheless, the United States had strong reservations about the wisdom and legality of economic sanctions against South Africa in present circumstances, and the U.S. Representative acknowledged that honest differences with regard to the application of sanctions would continue to exist.

The U.S. Representative concluded his statement by expressing the belief that neither the United Nations nor any government had exhausted the possibilities for contributing to a peaceful solution of the *apartheid* problem and that those genuinely concerned with the search for a solution should guard against having their efforts channeled into an unhelpful repetition of oversimplistic solutions. The United States, he said, "continues to reject the conclusion that there is no way out—no direction to go except the present collision course toward disaster in South Africa."

Assembly Action

On December 12 four separate paragraph votes were taken in the Special Political Committee before the draft resolution on *apartheid* was adopted as a whole. The paragraph reaffirming that the situation in South Africa and the resulting explosive situation in southern Africa continues to pose a grave threat to international peace and security was adopted by a vote of 81 to 8 (U.S.), with 8 abstentions. The paragraph deploring the attitude of the main trading partners of South Africa was adopted by a vote of 67 to 8 (U.S.), with 19 abstentions. The paragraph drawing the attention of the main trading partners of South Africa to the fact that "their increasing collaboration" with the Government of South Africa had aggravated the danger of a violent conflict and requesting them to take urgent steps toward disengagement with South Africa and to facilitate effective action under U.N. auspices to secure the elimination of *apartheid* was adopted by a vote of 78 to 7 (U.S.), with 12 abstentions. The paragraph drawing the attention of the Security Council to the fact that the situation in South Africa constitutes a threat to international peace and security, and stating that mandatory economic sanctions under chapter VII of the Charter provided the only way for achieving a peaceful solution was adopted by a vote of 70 to 10 (U.S.), with 17 abstentions. Finally, the Committee adopted the resolution as a whole by a vote of 87 to 1 (Portugal), with 12 (Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, Italy, Japan, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, U.K., U.S.) abstentions.

In his explanation of vote, the U.S. Representative, Seymour M. Finger, recalled the U.S. statement of December 10 in which the United States had made clear its opposition and abhorrence of *apartheid*. The United States, however, along with a number of countries considered that some of the elements contained in the draft resolution were inappropriate to the role of the General Assembly. The United States held strong reservations about the wisdom and legality of the application in present circumstances of economic sanctions against South Africa on the question of *apartheid*

and had therefore opposed the four paragraphs on which votes had been taken. There were a number of other provisions to which the United States did not wholly subscribe, either because they seemed too general and all-inclusive, or because they contained language that had a special meaning and seemed inappropriate in the present context. Finally, the United States had reservations about the financial and other implications of parts of the resolution in view of the acknowledged need of the United Nations to scrutinize proposed additional programs with appropriate care.

On December 16 the General Assembly adopted the 43-power resolution on *apartheid* by a vote of 84 to 2 (Portugal and South Africa), with 13 abstentions (Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, U.K., U.S.).

Relief for Victims of Apartheid

On December 1, 1966, the Secretary-General reported to the General Assembly that in accordance with the Assembly's resolution of December 15, 1965, a U.N. Trust Fund for South Africa had been established. The Fund was administered by a committee of individuals appointed by Chile, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Sweden, and consisted of voluntary contributions from states, organizations, and individuals. It was to be used for grants to private organizations, governments of host countries of refugees from South Africa, and other appropriate bodies for (1) legal assistance to persons charged under discriminatory and repressive legislation in South Africa; (2) relief for dependents of persons persecuted by the Government of South Africa for acts arising from opposition to the policies of *apartheid;* (3) education of prisoners, their children, and other individuals; and (4) relief for refugees from South Africa. In response to the appeal contained in the resolution establishing the fund and a later appeal by the Committee of Trustees, contributions totaling $145,910 had been received from 18 members (Algeria, Bulgaria, Chile, Congo (Kinshasa), Cyprus, Denmark, Ethiopia, Israel, Malawi, Malaysia, Morocco, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Sweden, Turkey, and Yugoslavia). $363 had been contributed by organizations and individuals. In addition, another $10,500 had been pledged by four other member states (Cambodia, Iran, Sudan, and Tunisia). In accordance with decisions of the Committee of Trustees, seven grants totaling $110,400 had been made from the Fund.

On December 9, in the Special Political Committee, the Ethiopian Representative introduced a draft resolution sponsored by Algeria, Bolivia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Malaysia, and Yugoslavia, which (1) commended the Secretary-General and the Committee of Trustees for their efforts to promote the Fund; (2) expressed appreciation to the governments, organizations, and individuals who had contributed to the Trust Fund; and (3) renewed the appeal to governments, organizations, and individuals to contribute generously. On December 12 the Trust Fund resolution was adopted in the Special Political Committee by a vote of 99 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions (Malawi and Portugal).

On December 16 the General Assembly adopted the resolution on the Trust Fund by a vote of 91 to 1 (South Africa), with 1 abstention (Portugal).

Viet-Nam

Late in 1965, a pause in the ground fighting in South Viet-Nam was ordered by American and South Vietnamese authorities in observance of

Christmas and the Vietnamese Lunar New Year. The United States also suspended all air attacks on North Viet-Nam. President Johnson decided, in full agreement with the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam, to continue the bombing suspension, even after ground fighting was resumed, as a clear demonstration of the desire of the United States for peace in Southeast Asia and because a number of governments, including a number of Communist governments, had insisted that such a suspension of the bombing would create a situation in which the possibilities of peace could be greatly improved.

Before the suspension of bombing was one week old, the United States informed North Viet-Nam through direct contacts that the bombing had ceased and no decision had been made by the United States regarding a resumption. At the same time, the United States invited North Viet-Nam to reciprocate with its own serious contribution toward peace. Also at an early stage, the United States was in touch with almost all the governments of the world and with numerous world leaders such as his Holiness the Pope and the U.N. Secretary-General. Six special Presidential envoys, including Vice President Hubert Humphrey, Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, and Ambassador Averell Harriman, visited 34 capitals. Personal communications from President Johnson went to the Chiefs of Governments of many more countries.

All governments were reminded of the various suggestions which the United States had already made about the possibilities of peace in Viet-Nam—suggestions which were summarized on January 3 in the following "14 points":

1. The Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962 are an adequate basis for peace in Southeast Asia;
2. We would welcome a conference on Southeast Asia or on any part thereof;
3. We would welcome "negotiations without preconditions" as the 17 nations put it;
4. We would welcome unconditional discussions as President Johnson put it;
5. A cessation of hostilities could be the first order of business at a conference or could be the subject of preliminary discussions;
6. Hanoi's four points could be discussed along with other points which others might wish to propose;
7. We want no U.S. bases in Southeast Asia;
8. We do not desire to retain U.S. troops in South Viet-Nam after peace is assured;
9. We support free elections in South Viet-Nam to give the South Vietnamese a government of their own choice;
10. The question of reunification of Viet-Nam should be determined by the Vietnamese through their own free decision;
11. The countries of Southeast Asia can be non-aligned or neutral if that be their option;
12. We would much prefer to use our resources for the economic reconstruction of Southeast Asia than in war. If there is peace, North Viet-Nam could participate in a regional effort to which we would be prepared to contribute at least one billion dollars;
13. The President has said "The Viet Cong would not have difficulty being represented and having their views represented if for a moment Hanoi decided she wanted to cease aggression. I don't think that would be an insurmountable problem."

14. We have said publicly and privately that we could stop the bombing of North Viet-Nam as a step toward peace although there has not been the slightest hint or suggestion from the other side as to what they would do if the bombing stopped.

Throughout this period of intense diplomatic activity, the United States sought to make it clear that it was prepared to have these 14 points or any others discussed with North Viet-Nam at a conference, in less formal meetings, or in private and tentative contacts through the most discreet channels.

U.S. LETTER OF JANUARY 4 TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

In a letter of January 4, 1966, to the Secretary-General, Ambassador Goldberg summarized the activities undertaken by the United States through January 4 in its pursuit of a peaceful settlement in Viet-Nam, reiterated the essence of the 14 points, and noted that there had been no bombing of North Viet-Nam since before Christmas.

The letter also reaffirmed the willingness of the United States, already noted in previous communications to the Secretary-General and the Security Council, "to collaborate unconditionally with members of the Security Council in the search for an acceptable formula to restore peace and security to that area of the world." The letter concluded with the hope that "on the present occasion also organs of the United Nations and all States would give even more earnest thought to what they might do to help to achieve these ends."

North Viet-Nam did not reciprocate these U.S. efforts. Viet Cong terrorist activities in South Viet-Nam continued at a higher than average level throughout the period of bombing pause. Infiltration of men and material from North Viet-Nam into South Viet-Nam also continued at an equally high level. American efforts to seek peace were greeted by invective and derision from Hanoi. On January 4 the North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry stated that "a political settlement of the Viet-Nam problem can be envisaged only when the U.S. Government has accepted the four-point stand of the DRV Government, has proved this by actual deeds, and has stopped unconditionally and for good its air raids and all other acts of war against the DRV." (Point three, in particular, reads: "The internal affairs of South Viet-Nam must be settled by the South Vietnamese people themselves in accordance with the program of the NFLSVN [National Front for the Liberation of South Viet-Nam] without any foreign interference.")

Following another sharp DRV Foreign Ministry statement on January 21, Hanoi broadcast on January 28 the text of a letter dated January 24 from Ho Chi Minh to the heads of government of several Communist and other countries. In this letter Ho ridiculed the United States "14 Points" and repeated the essence of North Viet-Nam's demand that the United States accept the North Vietnamese proposals in advance of any negotiations or discussions. In addition, his letter appeared to add a further condition to previous North Vietnamese formulations, stating: "If the U.S. really wants peace, it must recognize the NFLSVN as the *sole* genuine representative of the people of South Viet-Nam and engage in negotiations with it" (italic added). However, on January 30 a Liberation Front statement made it clear that "all negotiations with the United States imperialists at this moment are entirely useless if they still refuse to withdraw from South Viet-Nam their troops and all kinds of war materials."

As a consequence of these and other indications of Hanoi's attitude, Sec-

retary of State Dean Rusk in a press conference on January 31 noted with regret that the response from Hanoi to the U.S. peace offensive had been "negative, harsh, unyielding." On this same date, the United States announced the resumption of the bombing of North Viet-Nam. As Secretary Rusk pointed out, U.S. efforts toward peace had been met with a continuing barrage from Hanoi and Peking of such epithets as "fraud," "deceit," "swindle," "hoax," and "farce." Moreover, the efforts of our allies during these 37 days had also been rebuffed. President Johnson, in a statement on January 31, noted that Hanoi insisted on the surrender of South Viet-Nam to communism. "It is, therefore, very plain that there is no readiness or willingness to talk, no readiness for peace in that regime today."

The President observed, however, that the end of the pause did not mean the end of the United States own pursuit of peace. To this end the President announced that he had instructed Ambassador Goldberg to ask for an immediate meeting of the U.N. Security Council to present a full report on the situation in Viet-Nam and to submit a resolution which could open the way to the conference table.

U.S. LETTER OF JANUARY 31 TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL

In a letter dated January 31, 1966, requesting an urgent meeting of the Council, Ambassador Goldberg reviewed the many efforts undertaken by the United States to bring about a peaceful solution in Viet-Nam and outlined the negative response to the U.S. "peace offensive." He also informed the Security Council that the United States was convinced:

> . . . that in light of its obligations under the Charter to maintain international peace and security and the failure so far of all efforts outside the United Nations to restore peace, the Council should address itself urgently and positively to this situation and exert its most vigorous endeavors and its immense prestige to finding a prompt solution to it.

Ambassador Goldberg also submitted a draft resolution under which the Council would (1) call for immediate discussions without preconditions among the appropriate interested governments to arrange a conference looking toward the application of the Geneva Accords of 1954 and 1962; (2) recommend that the first order of business of such a conference be arrangements for the cessation of hostilities under effective supervision; (3) offer to assist in achieving the purposes of the resolution by all appropriate means, including the provision of arbitrators or mediators; (4) call on all concerned to cooperate fully in the implementation of the resolution; and (5) request the Secretary-General also to assist as appropriate.

SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION

When the Security Council convened on February 1, the U.S. Representative explained why the United States had brought the Viet-Nam question to the Council. He emphasized that the Security Council possessed the primary responsibility under the Charter for maintaining international peace and security and noted the failure of all other efforts up to that time to bring about negotiations on Viet-Nam. He repeated that the U.S. move was further evidence of its resolve to settle the conflict peacefully— a resolve stemming from a deep belief that a negotiated settlement rather than a military solution was in the best interests of the Vietnamese people as a whole, of all parties to the conflict, and of the entire international community.

The U.S. Representative pointed to North Viet-Nam's continuing violation of the Geneva Agreements, particularly article 19 of the agreement requiring North Viet-Nam to insure that its territory would not be used

"for the resumption of hostilities or to further an aggressive policy." He reviewed the numerous efforts undertaken by the United States and others to reach a peaceful settlement, reminding the Council in particular of the energetic U.S. efforts during the 37 days that the bombing of North Viet-Nam had been stopped. He pointed out that although Ho Chi Minh had closed the door to these attempts, "we have come here today to explore a new avenue."

The Soviet Representative objected to placing this question on the Council's agenda, explaining that the Soviet Union supported North Viet-Nam's position that the Vietnamese question should be settled within the framework of the Geneva Accords. He charged that the U.S. proposal was not aimed at a genuine settlement of the problem but was only a diversionary tactic undertaken to cover measures of the Pentagon to expand its "aggressive war."

The U.K. Representative supported the U.S. approach to the Security Council, but the French Representative opposed inscription, pointing out that with one exception the principal parties involved in the conflict were not represented in the United Nations, and noting that it was negotiation based upon the principles of the two Geneva Accords of 1954 and 1962 "which alone could lead to any solution."

After other members had set forth their views on inscription of the proposed agenda item, the U.S. Representative stated that his government had no quarrel with the contention advanced by a number of speakers that the Geneva Conference remained the appropriate body to deal with the question of Viet-Nam; the United States would welcome the reconvening of the Geneva Conference for this purpose. He pointed out, however, that the U.S.S.R. had refused to join in any steps to reconvene the Conference. Since the door to Geneva was closed, at least for the time being, the question remained whether the Council wished also to close the door of the United Nations.

With regard to the argument that certain parties were not U.N. members, the U.S. Representative pointed out that article 32 of the U.N. Charter allowed any state not a member of the United Nations to be invited to participate in the discussion if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Council. He also pointed out that the Charter obliged the United Nations to insure that nonmember states acted in accordance with the principles of the Charter so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security. The U.S. Representative reiterated that his government welcomed any and all efforts to reach a peaceful settlement in Viet-Nam, but in the absence of such efforts outside the United Nations showing any prospect of success, it was the U.S. view that the Security Council had a duty "to explore earnestly and without fear of failure" what it might do.

In a statement broadcast from Hanoi on February 1 North Vietnamese authorities took the position that the war in Viet-Nam came within the competence of the 1954 Geneva Conference and not of the U.N. Security Council, and that all resolutions of the Council which interfered with the Viet-Nam problem were completely null and void.

When the Council continued its discussion on February 2 the Soviet Representative again attacked U.S. policy in Viet-Nam and alleged that the U.S. move in bringing the matter before the Security Council was a "diversionary tactic and a propaganda farce."

The U.S. Representative rejected completely a Soviet allegation that the United States had violated the Geneva Accords. He went on to cite the special report dated June 2, 1962, from the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Viet-Nam to the cochairmen of the Geneva

Conference which stated that the authorities in North Viet-Nam had violated specific articles of the 1954 Geneva Agreement by sending arms, military personnel, and supplies from the North to the South and by allowing the zone in the North to be used for supporting hostile activities in the South aimed at the overthrow of the administration in South Viet-Nam. The U.S. Representative concluded:

> One of the purposes of the United States in coming to the Council is not to conceal facts but to expose to the sunlight of this Council's proceedings what the real facts are. Our desire remains constant: to uphold the Geneva Accords. . . . We are quite satisfied to rely upon facts, not upon adjectives, as a test of what we have done and are doing in Viet-Nam.

The Council thereupon voted 9 to 2, with 4 abstentions, to place the Viet-Nam question on the agenda. Voting in favor were Argentina, China, Japan, Jordan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Uruguay; Bulgaria and the U.S.S.R. voted against, while France, Mali, Nigeria, and Uganda abstained.

Following this vote the Council accepted a suggestion by the Council President, Ambassador Matsui of Japan, that informal and private consultations be held among the Council members in order to decide on the most effective and appropriate way of continuing the Council's debate.

In accordance with this mandate, the Council President conducted informal consultations among Council members, with the exception of the Soviet Representative who refused to participate. The President set forth the results of these consultations in a letter of February 26, 1966, to the Secretary-General and members of the Security Council. He noted that differences among the members made it impossible for him to report agreement on a precise course of action which the Council might follow. These differences had also given rise, he said, to "a general feeling that it would be inopportune for the Council to hold further debate at this time," and that a report by the President, rather than a formal Council meeting, was the most appropriate step to be taken. He went on to report that he could detect a certain degree of common feeling among members which could be summarized as follows:

> 1. There is general grave concern and growing anxiety over the continuation of hostilities in Viet-Nam and a strong desire for the early cessation of hostilities and a peaceful solution of the Viet-Nam problem;
> 2. There appears also to be a feeling that the termination of the conflict in Viet-Nam should be sought through negotiations in an appropriate forum in order to work out the implementation of the Geneva Accords.

He noted that the Council remained seized of the Viet-Nam problem and expressed his personal hope that efforts would be continued by whatever appropriate means to find an early peaceful solution in Viet-Nam.

Representatives of France, the U.S.S.R., Bulgaria, and Mali registered varying objections to the Security Council President's letter. Both the U.S.S.R. and Bulgaria returned the letter. On the other hand, the U.S. Representative on February 26 welcomed the letter and expressed confidence that these consultations would help to inspire members of the Security Council and others to continue and intensify their efforts for a peaceful settlement. He noted that the United States had consistently pursued the two objectives summarized in the President's letter, and reiterated that the United States is "prepared to go to Geneva at once to seek a settlement on the basis of and in implementation of the Geneva Accords." He pointed out that a substantial majority of the Council supported the view that negotiations in an appropriate forum were the way to peace in Viet-Nam, and that while Hanoi remained unresponsive it could not be unmindful of this expression of world opinion. The U.S. Representa-

tive affirmed, "We shall continue to cooperate with the other members of the Council in seeking other constructive steps toward peace in Viet-Nam."

ELECTION OBSERVERS

On June 2 the Republic of Viet-Nam Observer to the United Nations suggested that the Secretary-General arrange for U.N. observers to be present in Viet-Nam during the September elections for the Constituent Assembly. Ambassador Goldberg welcomed this initiative and expressed the hope that appropriate arrangements could be made. However, no further action was taken.

U.S. LETTER OF JUNE 30 TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL

In light of a substantial increase in the level of infiltration of armed men and war supplies from North Viet-Nam to South Viet-Nam the United States on June 29 ordered an air attack on petroleum facilities located near Hanoi and Haiphong. These actions were reported to the Security Council in a letter dated June 30, 1966. The United States pointed out that enemy truck movements to South Viet-Nam had doubled during the first 5 months of 1966 compared with the same period of 1965; that the daily tonnage of supplies moved overland had increased over 150 percent; and that the rate of infiltration of North Vietnamese military personnel into South Viet-Nam was estimated to have increased more than 100 percent, compared to 1965. "In all of these war activities against the South," the letter emphasized, "petroleum has played a key role." Noting the efforts made to prevent harm to civilians and to avoid destruction of nonmilitary facilities, the U.S. letter pointed out that unfortunately no such discrimination and concern for civilian life had been found in the behavior of the Communists in Viet-Nam. The letter again outlined the nature of U.S. objectives in Viet-Nam and reiterated the U.S. view that a peaceful solution must be found either "through reconvening the Geneva Conference in order to reaffirm and revitalize the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962 as the basis for peace in Southeast Asia, or in some other forum."

GENERAL ASSEMBLY DISCUSSION

Although Viet-Nam was not inscribed on the Assembly's agenda, the subject received much attention in the general debate and was a favorite propaganda topic of the Soviet Union and its supporters during discussion of other items before the Assembly.

On September 22, early in the general debate, the U.S. Representative set forth a comprehensive review of U.S. policy in Viet-Nam. He stressed the limited aims of the United States in responding to appeals for military assistance from South Viet-Nam:

> We are not engaged in a "holy war" against communism.
>
> We do not seek to establish an American empire or a sphere of influence in Asia.
>
> We seek no permanent military bases, no permanent establishment of troops, no permanent alliances, no permanent American presence of any kind in South Viet-Nam.
>
> We do not seek to impose a policy of alignment on South Viet-Nam.
>
> We do not seek to overthrow the Government of North Viet-Nam.
>
> We do not seek to do any injury to mainland China nor to threaten any of its legitimate interests.
>
> We do not ask of North Viet-Nam an unconditional surrender or indeed the surrender of anything that belongs to it.
>
> Nor do we seek to exclude any segment of the South Vietnamese people from peaceful participation in their country's future.

He then set forth the affirmative aims of the United States in the following terms:

> We want a political solution, not a military solution, to this conflict. By the same token, we reject the idea that North Viet-Nam has the right to impose a military solution.

We seek to assure for the people of South Viet-Nam the same right of self-determination—to decide its own political destiny, free of force—that the United Nations Charter affirms for all.

And we believe that reunification of Viet-Nam should be decided upon through a free choice by the peoples of both the North and the South without outside interference, the results of which choice we are fully prepared to support.

The U.S. Representative recalled that the United States remained ready to negotiate without prior conditions. At the same time, he said, the United States had soberly considered whether the lack of agreement on peace aims had been the sole barrier to the beginning of negotiations.

With regard to the possible obstacle represented by U.S. bombing of North Viet-Nam, he stated that the United States was willing once again to take the first step: "We are prepared to order a cessation of all bombing of North Viet-Nam the moment we are assured, privately or otherwise, that this step will be answered promptly by a corresponding and appropriate deescalation on the other side." The U.S. Representative thereupon urged that Hanoi be asked whether, in the interest of peace, and in response to a prior cessation of U.S. bombing, it would "take corresponding and timely steps to reduce or bring to an end its own military activities against South Viet-Nam."

With regard to another possible obstacle, North Viet-Nam's conviction or fear that the United States intended to establish a permanent military presence in Viet-Nam, the U.S. Representative reiterated that his government was ready to withdraw its forces as others withdrew theirs, and favored U.N. or other international machinery to assure effective supervision of the withdrawal. He therefore urged that Hanoi also be asked whether North Viet-Nam would be willing "to agree to a time schedule for supervised phased withdrawal from South Viet-Nam of all external forces."

Still another possible obstacle, he said, was disagreement over the place of the Viet Cong in the negotiations. The U.S. Representative repeated President Johnson's view that as far as the United States was concerned this question would not be "an insurmountable problem." The U.S. Representative therefore invited the authorities in Hanoi to "consider whether this obstacle to negotiations may not be more imaginary than real."

The U.S. Representative observed that the United States remained flexible in its position and recognized that there might be other proposals. However, "whatever approach finally succeeds, it will not be one which simply decries what is happening in Viet-Nam and appeals to one side to stop while encouraging the other." The only workable formula for a settlement, he said, would be one which was just to the basic interests of all involved. He concluded that in this spirit the United States welcomed discussion of Viet-Nam either in the Security Council or in the General Assembly. "We earnestly solicit the further initiative of any organ, including the Secretary-General or any member of the United Nations whose influence can help in this cause."

In a letter of October 4 to the Secretary-General, Prime Minister Ky outlined the position of the Republic of Viet-Nam. The letter was distributed to all members as a Security Council document. The Prime Minister said, in part, that the real cause of the war was that the Republic of Viet-Nam was the object of an armed attack "planned, launched and directed by North Viet-Nam." He went on to state that his government and people "stand ready to consider any initiative for a settlement of this conflict which would preserve the independence of the Republic of Viet-Nam and the right of its people to choose their own way of life." He also said that the people of South Viet-Nam welcomed any efforts by

the Secretary-General, the United Nations, or any of its members to bring peace and stability.

Nearly every other general debate statement also touched upon Viet-Nam. The statements by the Eastern Europeans again demonstrated the continuing opposition of Communist states to any U.N. involvement in Viet-Nam. It is also notable that, among the statements made by non-Communist members in the general debate, only a few expressed the view that the United Nations could play any role in bringing about negotiations or a cessation of hostilities in Viet-Nam.

In his closing speech to the Assembly on December 20, Assembly President Pazhwak of Afghanistan also touched upon Viet-Nam. After stating his view that "it is obvious the United Nations cannot intervene in any way in the war in Viet-Nam," he made a personal appeal to all the parties directly involved to declare "their unconditional willingness to seek only a peaceful solution and their readiness to establish appropriate contacts for discussions about the terms of negotiations."

Ambassador Goldberg issued a statement the following day welcoming this appeal and affirming strongly "the unconditional willingness of the United States to seek a peaceful solution and to engage in discussions to this end." There was no response to the President's appeal from other members of the United Nations or from other parties to the conflict.

EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SECRETARY-GENERAL: DECEMBER 1966

In a letter of December 19 to the Secretary-General, after recalling the hopes of Pope Paul VI and the Secretary-General that the temporary Christmas truce in Viet-Nam might somehow be transformed into a more general cessation of hostilities, the U.S. Representative recalled that one of the U.S. Government's "14 Points" envisaged that a cessation of hostilities could be the first order of business at a conference or could be the subject of preliminary discussions. The U.S. Representative reaffirmed the commitment of the United States to that proposal. He recalled also a point made in his general debate statement of September 22 that no differences could be resolved without contact, discussion, or negotiations, and pointed out that this held equally true with regard to a mutual cessation of hostilities. He expressed to the Secretary-General the hope that "you will take whatever steps you consider necessary to bring about the necessary discussions which could lead to such a cease-fire." He concluded with the assurance that "the Government of the United States will cooperate fully with you in getting such discussions started promptly and in bringing them to a successful completion."

In replying to Ambassador Goldberg's letter on December 30, the Secretary-General reiterated the three-point program he had made public earlier in the year: (1) cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam; (2) scaling down of all military activities by all sides in South Viet-Nam; and (3) willingness to enter into discussions with those who are actually fighting. U Thant declared his strong belief that this three-point program, "of which the cessation of the bombing . . . is the first and essential part, is necessary to create the possibility of fruitful discussions leading to a just and honorable settlement . . . on the basis of the Geneva Agreements of 1954." He again urged the United States, as a humanitarian approach, to stop the bombing, without conditions, and assured Ambassador Goldberg that he would continue in his "personal and private capacity" to seek a solution of the problem of Viet-Nam.

On December 31 Ambassador Goldberg again assured the Secretary-General that the preeminent de-

sire of the U.S. Government was "to bring all hostilities in Viet-Nam to a prompt and honorable end consistent with the United Nations Charter."

Agreeing that its size and power imposed special responsibilities on the United States, he reaffirmed that the United States was "ready to order a prior end to all bombing of North Viet-Nam the moment there is an assurance, private or otherwise, that there would be a reciprocal response toward peace from North Viet-Nam." He reiterated his hope that the Secretary-General would use every means at his disposal "to determine what tangible response there would be from North Viet-Nam in the wake of such a prior step toward peace on our part." It was the U.S. conviction that the goal sought—an end to all fighting, hostilities, organized terror, and violence—could not be obtained "by either appeals for or the exercise of restraint by only one side in the Viet-Nam conflict." He welcomed the Secretary-General's idea for an extended cease-fire "which would obviously include a cessation of the bombing of North Viet-Nam as well as an end to all hostilities and organized violence in the South," and fully agreed that the ultimate basis for a peaceful settlement could be the Geneva Accords.

The United States, he concluded, was heartened by the Secretary-General's assurance that he would continue "to explore every avenue toward a peaceful solution of the Viet-Nam conflict."

General Political Problems

Comprehensive Review of Peacekeeping: Future Arrangements

Despite the consensus in the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (Committee of 33) on August 31, 1965, which paved the way to ending the voting deadlock in the General Assembly, the 20th Assembly was unable to resolve differences on how future peacekeeping operations should be authorized, financed, and conducted. It therefore returned this question to the Committee of 33 for further examination.

COMMITTEE OF 33 CONSIDERATION

The Committee met infrequently during 1966, four times as a formal Committee and three as a Working Group of the Whole.

As in 1965, although most members subscribed to the value of strengthening the United Nations peacekeeping capacity, they were reluctant to come to grips with the substantive issues dividing the Committee on constitutional, financial, and organizational principles. Widespread support was expressed for the guidelines on future peacekeeping submitted to the Committee in 1965 by the Secretary-General and the President of the 19th General Assembly. However, even those who supported the guidelines believed it would be divisive and undesirable to press for their adoption against the outspoken opposition of a minority, led by the Soviet and French delegations, to any arrangements that impaired the exclusive control of the Security Council over all aspects of peacekeeping, including financing. Consequently, the Committee's report to the 21st General Assembly contained no substantive recommendations.

There was a widespread belief in the Committee that it would not be useful to define precisely the respective responsibilities of the Security Council and the General Assembly, but that the Assembly's residual role in authorization and its authority for financing should be safeguarded. Many members also advocated that the Committee and the Assembly focus on concrete methods to assure reliable and equitable financing, and to improve the readiness of members to respond to a U.N. call for troops and facilities.

Two proposals drew particular attention. The Swedish Representative suggested that for equitable sharing of costs of future operations involving heavy expenditure a special scale of apportionment be adopted that need not be a fixed, binding assessment but could serve as a "prearranged model" of fair shares which could be applied and adapted case by case. The very existence of such a model scale, he argued, would facilitate decisions on peacekeeping and would reassure smaller countries. The Canadian Representative urged the Secretary-General to proceed with a study of peacekeeping preparations as proposed in the introduction to his 1964 annual report. If this were not possible, the Canadian Representative suggested that governments should consider informing the Secretary-General of the types of forces that they could readily provide for peacekeeping operations.

On September 13, at the final meeting of the Committee prior to the convening of the 21st General Assembly, the Chairman, Ambassador

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Cuevas Cancino of Mexico, noted that negotiations had continued in an effort to reconcile divergent views, and he read a draft declaration which was included in the records as his own declaration:

> During the debates that took place in the resumed session, various new ideas and proposals on different aspects of peacekeeping operations were advanced. Negotiations took place among members of the Committee, with the cooperation of the Chairman and other members of the Bureau. It was found, in the course of the resumed session, that certain differences of opinion on the part of Member States continued to exist on the subject. The Chairman has endeavoured to reconcile the different views held by Member States, but it was not possible to achieve this.

These continued differences among the great powers concerned the key questions of peacekeeping—the role of the General Assembly, financing methods, peacekeeping preparations, and the conduct of peacekeeping operations.

At this meeting the U.K. Representative reiterated Britain's adherence to the primacy of the Security Council complemented by the residual role of the General Assembly, collective financing responsibility, the need for greater efficiency in training and supply of peacekeeping troops, and support for the authority of the Secretary-General. He recalled the consensus that had ended the article 19 deadlock in 1965 and trusted that substantial voluntary contributions, sufficient to restore the United Nations to solvency, would be forthcoming.

The Soviet Representative reaffirmed the Soviet position that "in all matters relating to measures taken by the United Nations in the field of the maintenance of international peace and security, including operations involving the use of force by the United Nations, only the Security Council is competent to act."

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, noted that the U.S. position on substance remained that set forth in his statement to the Special Political Committee at the 20th General Assembly. He urged Assembly action on the concrete proposals for strengthening peacekeeping machinery and insuring more reliable and equitable financing, which had been advanced by Sweden and Canada in the Committee of 33 and by the United States to the Working Group of 21 in September 1964. He reminded the Committee that the third element of the consensus reached by the Committee on August 31, 1965—the restoration of solvency through voluntary contributions—had not been carried out fully or even in major part. "Certain countries that have not contributed to particular peacekeeping operations have stated on many occasions that they would make substantial voluntary contributions once the other elements of the consensus were put into effect." This had now been done, and the United States hoped that the substantial voluntary contributions would soon be forthcoming.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

The 21st General Assembly included on its agenda an item titled "Comprehensive Review of the Whole Question of Peacekeeping Operations in All Their Aspects: Report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations." This report, dated September 30, 1966, consisted of a summary record of proceedings and served as the formal framework for Assembly action. The item was referred to the Assembly's Special Political Committee.

The related issue of voluntary contributions to overcome the United Nations financial difficulties was not specifically assigned to any committee. In view of the findings of the *Ad Hoc* Committee to Study the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies (Committee of

14—see page 269) on the current U.N. financial deficit, there were expectations that voluntary contributions from the U.S.S.R. and France would now be forthcoming. A number of delegations referred to the 1965 understanding about contributions, but no action was taken. By the end of 1966 neither the Soviets nor the French had yet made voluntary contributions.

The Special Political Committee considered peacekeeping in several meetings from November 15 to December 1, and on December 13 and 14. In opening the debate on November 15, the Chairman of the Committee of 33 noted that the Committee had been unable to arrive at an agreement acceptable to the permanent members of the Security Council and capable of enlisting the support of all other states, but that informal negotiations had done much to reconcile views which had previously been diametrically opposed.

Despite this optimistic note, many representatives expressed regret that the Committee of 33 had been unable to fulfill its mandate and that its report contained no substantive recommendations. Many stressed that a serious effort should be made in the General Assembly to determine the framework in which peacekeeping operations could be undertaken, to agree on principles for authorizing and conducting peacekeeping even though no precise rules could be agreed upon, and to consider practical and technical steps regarding financing and peacekeeping operations.

With respect to the framework for peacekeeping operations, numerous speakers associated themselves with the guidelines set forth in the May 31, 1965, report to the Committee of 33 by the President of the 19th General Assembly and the Secretary-General. The principal concern was with financing and preparedness. Various draft resolutions and amendments were submitted. Discussion centered on the Irish and Canadian proposals.

Twelve-Power (Irish) Draft Resolution

On November 17 Foreign Minister Aiken of Ireland introduced a draft resolution which revived his proposal of the previous year for a special scale of assessment to finance peacekeeping where no other provision was made. The scale would acknowledge that low-income countries should contribute less than for the regular budget, and that it was reasonable and practical to treat the permanent members of the Security Council as a distinct group, making them responsible, jointly and severally, for a higher proportion of the expenses. Ceylon, Costa Rica, Ghana, Ireland, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, the Philippines, Somalia, and Togo (later joined by Uganda and the Ivory Coast) were cosponsors.

The 12-power draft provided that, to the extent not covered by agreed arrangements or by the regular budget, costs of peacekeeping operations would be apportioned on the basis of 5 percent among the less developed countries, 25 percent among developed countries other than the permanent members of the Security Council, and 70 percent among the permanent members. Permanent members that did not vote for the operation would be exempt from contributing their share, in which case the remaining permanent members would make up the 70 percent due from this group, except that no member would be assessed for more than 50 percent of the net cost of the operation.

This resolution was revised on November 29 to limit the above schedule to peacekeeping expenditures of up to $100 million in any one year. Anything over $100 million would be assessed pro rata on the group of

economically developed states and the permanent members of the Security Council. An added paragraph provided that the comprehensive review of peacekeeping should be continued and completed as soon as possible.

Foreign Minister Aiken stated that if the United Nations were to avoid being unable to implement its decisions on peacekeeping through lack of funds, the Assembly must stand by its right under article 17 to make mandatory assessments. He defended the proposal to allow permanent members to opt out on the ground that this was the price of their special responsibilities and contributions to peacekeeping.

Seven-Power (Canadian) Draft Resolution

In submitting a draft resolution on behalf of Argentina, Canada, Chile, Iran, Italy, Nigeria, and Norway, External Affairs Minister Paul Martin of Canada told the Special Political Committee on November 22 that in addition to reaffirming peacekeeping principles endorsed by the great majority, the resolution contained two principal provisions. One would set down guidelines for equitable sharing of costly operations on a voluntary basis rather than establish mandatory assessments as provided in the Irish draft resolution. The other was concerned with improving preparations. It invited member states to inform the United Nations of the kind of forces or services that they might be in a position to provide. In addition the Assembly would recommend to the Council that it explore possible arrangements under article 43 of the U.N. Charter. The sponsors later accepted amendments by Ethiopia and Cyprus.

As voted upon by the Special Political Committee, the seven-power draft resolution (1) endorsed certain peacekeeping principles, including the complementary role of the General Assembly, while calling for harmonization of views on the respective responsibilities of the Security Council and the General Assembly; (2) noted various methods of financing and considered that equitable sharing of costs of costly operations might be achieved by a special scale governed by certain considerations: the special responsibilities of permanent members, the relatively limited capacity of developing countries to contribute (their share was put at 5 percent), and—where circumstances warrant—the need to give special consideration to the situation of victims of, or those otherwise involved in, the events leading to a peacekeeping operation; (3) invited members to inform the United Nations of the kinds of forces or services they might be in a position to provide in response to a U.N. request; and (4) recommended to the Security Council that it authorize a study of preparations for peacekeeping of a nonenforcement nature and explore prospects for agreements to be negotiated with members for the provision of armed forces, assistance, and facilities under article 43. The resolution also continued the Committee of 33, requesting it to elaborate on the provisions of the resolution relating to financing and to report to the 22d General Assembly.

Debate in the Special Political Committee

Many of the cosponsors and others spoke in support of the Irish and Canadian resolutions. They stressed the need of keeping open possibilities for peacekeeping even in the absence of Security Council unanimity, of developing reliable and equitable means of financing, and of the responsibility of member states to improve preparations for peacekeeping.

On November 22 France and the U.S.S.R. spoke against the Irish and

Canadian proposals. The French Representative said that the only possible solution for the differences on peacekeeping was "to return to the strict interpretation of the Charter." The Security Council had exclusive authority for any measures involving the creation of a military force, even if the force was created with the agreement of the states concerned and even if the actual use of armed force was theoretically limited to certain exceptional cases. Under such circumstances, "it was only logical that the Security Council should decide on the financing of such operations." The General Assembly could undertake such operations as observation, surveillance, or investigation, provided that those operations were not carried out by units placed under military command and that the units were not responsible for their own security.

He opposed the financing arrangements provided by the Irish draft resolution, but suggested that the Security Council could perhaps set up a finance committee with an enlarged membership to protect the interests of states not on the Council. He also said that France would be unable to support the Canadian draft resolution because it was ambiguous with regard to the respective roles of the Security Council and the General Assembly in peacekeeping and limited the Security Council on financial aspects of an operation by rules predetermined by the General Assembly.

The Soviet Representative reiterated the longstanding Soviet view that only the Security Council could take decisions concerning the use of armed force on behalf of the United Nations or could direct such operations. He said there was no justification for including an item on peacekeeping on the General Assembly agenda and opposed both the Irish and Canadian resolutions. He recalled the Soviet memorandum of July 1964 which called for greater use of the Military Staff Committee; the inclusion in peacekeeping operations of contingents not only from Western and neutral countries but also from "socialist countries, whose representatives would participate in the command of such forces"; and Security Council appointment of a commander for each operation. On financing, he stated that in future cases "when the Security Council adopted decisions to establish and finance U.N. armed forces," the Soviet Union would be prepared to take part in defraying the "expenditure involved in the maintenance of those armed forces."

U.S. Position

The U.S. Representative, Senator Clifford P. Case, spoke on November 23. Noting that peacekeeping was the most important task of the United Nations, he said that ideally the United Nations should move with the concurrence of all powers, particularly those that bear a special responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. But, "where action embracing all members is not possible, the Organization should not be stopped from acting with the broad support of the members that are willing to assume the responsibility for carrying out duly authorized operations."

Senator Case reaffirmed the principles the United States believed should govern peacekeeping which had been stated in 1965 by Ambassador Goldberg:

(1) The Security Council has primary responsibility for initiating and supervising peacekeeping operations, and everything feasible should be done to enable it to exercise that responsibility.

(2) The General Assembly has authority to initiate and supervise peacekeeping operations where the Security Council is unable to act.

(3) The General Assembly has exclusive authority to apportion expenses among its members.

(4) The expenses of peacekeeping operations should, in principle, be the collective financial responsibility of the entire membership.

(5) The costs should be shared fairly among the members in accordance with their capacity to pay.

(6) General Assembly procedures for peacekeeping operations should provide an appropriate voice for those members that bear the principal responsibility for supporting them.

(7) The Secretary-General is the most appropriate executive agent for managing peacekeeping operations, and he should be given every support within the scope of his mandate.

On the subject of preparations for peacekeeping, Senator Case noted proposals that members be invited to inform the Secretary-General of the kinds of forces, supplies, and services that they could provide in response to a request to participate in a U.N. peacekeeping operation. He suggested that it would be highly useful to compile and analyze the experience gained and the practice acquired over many years. Also, as the U.S. Representative had remarked in 1965, the Secretary-General must be able to plan for emergencies. The Secretariat should be encouraged to update the guidelines for the regulation of U.N. peacekeeping forces and to examine what needed to be done to insure their readiness.

On the financial side, the United States believed that a presumptive model scale which could be adapted to particular operations on a case-by-case basis, although not ideal, was certainly preferrable to a situation in which the Secretary-General had to beg for funds in order to maintain operations.

The U.S. Representative stated that the United States had great respect for the sponsors of the Irish proposal and considered the principle of collective responsibility the first choice. But the United States continued to have reservations with respect to the proposal. In particular, Senator Case recalled the reservation the United States had expressed the previous year with respect to the proposal that one country might have to pay as much as 50 percent of the cost of any operation for which it cast an affirmative vote. By act of Congress, no American delegate in the United Nations may vote for an assessment in which the U.S. share is more than 33⅓ percent. Therefore, he said, the United States would abstain on the Irish resolution. If, however, the resolution were adopted, the United States would be prepared to consult with the Congress on the merits of the plan.

The United States would vote in favor of the seven-power (Canadian) draft resolution, Senator Case said, as a significant step forward. With minor reservations, the U.S. delegation had no difficulty in supporting all the operative paragraphs, including the provision recommending exploration of the possibilities of negotiating agreements of the kind envisaged in article 43 of the Charter. Until such agreements existed, however, the United States was obliged to insure that necessary peacekeeping operations would be carried out.

The U.S. Representative emphasized that in the absence of unanimity, options for peacekeeping must be kept open, supported by those willing to support such operations. If nations were to be able to depend on the United Nations for their security, the United Nations must demonstrate that it "is willing and able to respond to appeals for help when the peace is threatened or violence menaces the sovereignty or political independence of member states who ask for help."

Jamaican Draft Resolution

On November 30 Jamaica introduced a draft resolution which, as revised, would recommend to the Security Council that it proceed with preparations to enable it to discharge its responsibilities under articles 42 and 45 of the Charter and, in particular, that it proceed to negotiate arrangements with member states under which armed forces, assistance, and facilities would be made available to the Council upon call, in accordance with the provisions of article 43 of the Charter.

Tactical Moves

In an attempt to sidetrack the Canadian resolution which had picked up growing support, its opponents successfully moved to recess consideration of the peacekeeping item from December 1 to 13. Meanwhile they mounted a drive to shelve both the Irish and Canadian resolutions and remand to the Committee of 33 the further examination of the peacekeeping issue without any substantive action by the General Assembly.

Three-Power (India-U.A.R.-Yugoslavia) Draft Resolution

On December 8 India, the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia submitted a draft resolution providing for the continuation of the Committee of 33 and requesting it to report to the 22d regular session of the General Assembly by July 1, 1967. The draft also provided that the General Assembly recommend to the Security Council that it study the means of improving preparations for peacekeeping and explore prospects for agreements between the Security Council and member states for provision of armed forces, assistance, and facilities to be made available to the Security Council pursuant to article 43.

Mexican Draft Resolution

On December 9 Mexico submitted a draft resolution designed to compromise divergent views by reaffirming the areas of agreement on peacekeeping and requesting the Committee of 33 to continue its work. The Mexican draft provided that the General Assembly (1) express its approval of the work of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and request it to continue that work; (2) endorse certain principles set forth in an annex to the resolution as guidelines for the conduct of peacekeeping operations; and (3) decide that those principles would be applied in the light of the facts and circumstances of each case.

U.S. Draft Amendments

The United States submitted an amendment to the three-power draft which provided that the General Assembly would note with approval the guidelines set forth in the 1965 report of the Secretary-General and the President of the 19th General Assembly, and an amendment to the Mexican draft whereby the principles set forth in the annex would be replaced by these same 1965 guidelines. The United States thus hoped to salvage at least endorsement of these guidelines if, despite the efforts of sponsors of the Canadian resolution, these two drafts gained priority and were put to the vote.

Special Political Committee Action

The second round of the peacekeeping debate began in the Special Political Committee on December 13.

Claiming that the debate showed consensus favoring its provisions, the U.A.R. Representative requested priority for the three-power draft resolution.

The U.S. Representative, Senator Case, said that the U.S. position as

set forth in his first statement to the Committee would continue to guide the United States. Although the United States would abstain on the Irish resolution, he believed the draft should be put to a vote because the sponsors were entitled to an expression of view by the General Assembly. The United States believed the seven-power resolution, as amended, represented the best plan for progress in peacekeeping that could command widespread support. It seemed unnecessary to vote on the three-power resolution since everything of value appearing in that draft and many other general elements as well were contained in the Canadian proposal.

Debate ended in the Special Political Committee on December 14. The Soviet Representative spoke in opposition to the U.S. amendments as well as to the Irish and Canadian draft resolutions. He supported the three-power draft which he said was "a common denominator which could provide a basis for the work of the Special Committee of 33."

Ambassador Belaunde of Peru, having been one of the signatories of the Charter, noted that he was in a position to interpret it in a manner that was in keeping with the authors' original intention. If the Charter were interpreted dynamically as it should be, it in no way called into question, directly or indirectly, the General Assembly's competence with regard to peacekeeping. If a member of the Security Council exercised its veto and the Council was unable to take a decision, the matter came before the General Assembly and was no longer within the competence of the Council.

Voting on the resolutions took place in the Special Political Committee on December 14. The motion to accord priority to the three-power draft resolution for remanding peacekeeping to the Committee of 33 was rejected 33 to 49 (U.S.), with 26 abstentions. This draft was then withdrawn, as was the Mexican draft resolution. The Irish resolution was adopted by a slim majority of 33 to 27, with 48 (U.S.) abstentions. The revised Canadian resolution was adopted 52 (U.S.) to 14, with 42 abstentions. Paragraph votes were requested on key paragraphs of the Canadian draft and all were sustained by substantial majorities.

Jamaica did not withdraw its draft even though its substance was embodied in the Canadian resolution, and it was adopted by a vote of 20 to 5, with 80 (U.S.) abstentions.

Aftermath in the Plenary

Before the vote in the plenary, a major effort was mounted by the U.S.S.R., France, and other supporters of the three-power draft to reverse in the plenary the decisions in the Special Political Committee. On December 16 the U.S.S.R. issued a press release which characterized the action of the Special Political Committee on December 14 as an attempt "to push through a decision running counter to the U.N. Charter despite resolute protests of the Soviet Union and France." The Soviet statement asserted that the December 14 decision "does not have and cannot have any power." If the initiators of the Canadian draft "would be able to impose it on the U.N. General Assembly this would create a situation latent with serious consequences for the United Nations."

Opponents persuaded the President of the General Assembly to delay voting in plenary while lobbying against the Canadian resolution continued. Irish Foreign Minister Aiken informed the Assembly on December 17 that he would not press for a vote on his proposal and would vote for the seven-power draft resolution. The Canadian Representative underlined the importance of General Assem-

bly action on his resolution. The French Representative reiterated his objections to the seven-power draft and stated that "the provisions in this draft resolution could not, if the Assembly adopted that text, be considered binding on delegations which expressed their disagreement." Strong criticism of the draft was also voiced by the Soviet Representative.

That opponents of the Canadian draft were picking up strength was indicated by the adoption (41 to 32 (U.S.), with 36 abstentions) of a motion in the morning of December 19 that consideration of the peacekeeping item be again postponed until that afternoon.

In the afternoon the Algerian Representative introduced a draft resolution sponsored by 19 members (Afghanistan, Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Congo (Brazzaville), Guinea, India, Jordan, Mali, Mauritania, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Syria, Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago, U.A.R., Yemen, Yugoslavia, and Zambia) to delay consideration of the report of the Special Political Committee on the peacekeeping item until the Special General Assembly scheduled for April 1967 and, meanwhile, to send the report for study to the Committee of 33. The key vote was on priority for the 19-power draft resolution. Strong pressure by opponents of the Canadian resolution was mounted and resulted in an unexpected shift of votes. A number of members were persuaded by the argument that only a 4-month postponement was being sought. The motion for priority for the 19-power proposal was adopted 49 to 41 (U.S.), with 27 abstentions.

The 19-power draft resolution was then adopted by a vote of 56 to 36 (U.S.), with 25 abstentions. Under this resolution the Assembly (1) decided to refer the Special Political Committee's report on peacekeeping (which included the Canadian, Irish, and Jamaican resolutions adopted in committee) to the fifth special session of the General Assembly, to be held not later than April 30, 1967; and (2) requested the Committee of 33 to continue the review of the whole question of peacekeeping operations and to report to the General Assembly at its fifth special session.

Reappointment of the Secretary-General

The 21st General Assembly on December 2, 1966, unanimously adopted a resolution reappointing U Thant as U.N. Secretary-General for another term of office ending December 31, 1971. In so doing the Assembly acted on the unanimous recommendation of the Security Council, specifically endorsing the Council's conclusion that "in view of his proven qualities and high sense of duty, the reappointment of U Thant would be most conducive to the larger interests and purposes of the Organization."

The Assembly's action ended a year-long period of concern and uncertainty whether U Thant would accept reappointment. It was the climax of extensive private consultations designed to make clear to the Secretary-General the earnest desire of the U.N. membership generally that he make himself available for a second term. The Assembly's action also climaxed a series of private Security Council meetings directed toward this same end.

After the last of the Security Council meetings, on December 2, the Council issued a communique containing the text of a statement by its President (the Uruguayan Representative) on behalf of the Council and the text of a statement by the Secretary-General. The President's statement referred to the consensus

adopted by the Council at its private meeting on September 29, 1966, which spoke of "the great positive role played by the Secretary-General, U Thant, in the activities of the Organization" and affirmed that should he "express willingness to serve another term as the Secretary-General, it would fully meet the desires of the members of this Council." The President's statement further noted U Thant's intention, announced in his letter of September 1, 1966, to members of the Council, "not to offer himself for a second term and his desire to leave the Council unfettered in its recommendations." The President's statement also said that the members of the Council had weighed his wish "that they examine the possibility of another nominee," but continued:

> . . . Whatever their views may be on the observations he made with his announced expression of intention, they fully respect his position and his action in bringing basic issues confronting the Organization and disturbing developments in many parts of the world to their notice, as he has done in his statement of 1 September 1966 to which they accord their closest attention.
>
> The members of the Security Council would like to ask him to recognize with them that the Organization should continue to be served by a Secretary-General who has the demonstrated capacity to evoke the co-operation and confidence of all Members. The wide support for the present Secretary-General among all Members of the United Nations is an important factor which should be preserved in order to help the Organization continue to face its problems constructively and play its role in maintaining peace and security.

Concluding, the President's statement said that the Council had "unanimously decided to appeal to U Thant's dedication to the Organization and to ask him to continue to serve for another full term as Secretary-General"; expressed the Council's hope that he would accept its appeal; and declared the Council's intention, thereupon, "to make the appropriate recommendation to the General Assembly."

In his statement, the Secretary-General expressed his deep appreciation of the "sympathetic understanding" shown by the Council of his reasons for announcing "his intention not to offer himself for a second term." He then took note of the Council's observations and said that he recognized "the validity of the reasons it has advanced in requesting him to continue to serve the Organization for another full term." Continuing, he expressed his "particular appreciation that, for its part, the Security Council respects his position and his action in bringing to the notice of the Organization basic issues confronting it, and disturbing developments in many parts of the world," and his hope "that the close attention being given to these issues and developments will serve to strengthen the Organization by the co-operative effort of the entire membership, and promote the cause of world peace and progress."

He concluded by saying, "It is in this hope that the Secretary-General accedes to the appeal addressed to him by the Security Council."

On December 3, in a letter of congratulation to the Secretary-General, President Johnson wrote:

> . . . Your selfless decision to continue to serve the organization will, I am sure, inspire the membership to strengthen the United Nations in discharging the great purposes of the Charter.
>
> In these troubled times, the devotion of the best talents, energies and efforts of men of good will to the cause of world peace is more indispensable than ever before. We are therefore especially pleased that you have rededicated yourself to this great task.
>
> You may depend on my continuing closest personal attention to the problems confronting the organization in its search for peace.
>
> In the years ahead, it is my greatest hope that your rededicated faith and skills will charge the United Nations with new strength, and the human family with new

hope, and so give new substance to the promise of the Charter. . . .

Earlier, on November 1, the General Assembly had unanimously adopted a resolution, cosponsored by the nonpermanent members of the Security Council, extending the Secretary-General's appointment, which expired on November 3, "until the end of the twenty-first regular session of the General Assembly." On October 28 the Security Council had recommended such action to the Assembly, pending the Council's further consideration of the question of the appointment of the Secretary-General, and after recalling U Thant's September 19 statement that he was "ready to consider serving until the end" of the 21st session.

United Nations Membership

U.N. membership rose to 122 in 1966 with the admission of four newly independent states—two in Africa and two in the Western Hemisphere—and the return of Indonesia to the Organization.

ADMISSION OF NEW MEMBERS

Guyana, previously British Guiana, became independent on May 26, 1966, the date agreed upon at the constitutional conference held in London in November 1965, and applied for U.N. membership in a letter of June 4 from its Prime Minister to the U.N. Secretary-General. The Security Council considered Guyana's application on June 21 and unanimously adopted a resolution, cosponsored by Argentina, New Zealand, Nigeria, Uganda, the United Kingdom, and Uruguay, recommending its admission.

Noting that Guyana was the 25th British dependency to be granted independence since World War II, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, congratulated "both Guyana and the United Kingdom for the essentially peaceful way and the careful deliberate planning that prepared the way for independence, despite many difficulties and obstacles."

He recalled the U.N. role in Guyana's progress toward independence and made specific mention of the economic and social assistance U.N. agencies had given "and will continue to give the new nation." In connection with the agreement between the British and Venezuelan Governments concerning the frontier between Guyana and Venezuela, he noted the completion of negotiations which will:

> . . . establish a Mixed Commission with the task of seeking a solution for the practical settlement of this controversy. The negotiations which led up to this Agreement and the spirit which motivated the parties are in the highest tradition of the United Nations in keeping with the provisions of the Charter.

He concluded by congratulating Guyana's Prime Minister, welcoming the application for U.N. membership, and stating that the United States gladly supported the resolution recommending admission.

While welcoming Guyana's independence and its application for U.N. membership, the Representatives of both the Netherlands and Venezuela referred to certain unsettled frontier problems with the new state. The Netherlands Representative noted that the boundary between Guyana and Surinam, a component part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, had not yet been definitely determined and expressed confidence that negotiations with Guyana begun shortly before its independence would lead to a satisfactory solution of this problem in the near future. The Venezuelan Representative (who although not a mem-

ber of the Security Council had asked to be heard) declared that his government's support of Guyana's admission to the United Nations in no way constituted a renunciation of its claims to the territory in dispute.

On the opening day of its 21st session, the General Assembly adopted by acclamation a resolution, cosponsored by 22 Commonwealth members, admitting Guyana to the United Nations.

The British High Commission Territories of Bechuanaland and Basutoland became independent on September 30 and October 4, 1966, respectively, under the names of Botswana and Lesotho. Both states promptly applied for U.N. membership, Botswana in a letter of September 30 from its President to the U.N. Secretary-General and Lesotho in a telegram of October 7 from its Prime Minister. The Security Council considered both applications on October 14 and unanimously adopted resolutions, cosponsored by Jordan, New Zealand, Nigeria, Uganda, and the United Kingdom, recommending admission of the two new states.

Speaking in the Council, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Nabrit, welcomed both countries to the United Nations. He noted their progressive development up until the time they were granted full independence. "Due credit," he said, should be given to the United Kingdom "under whose aegis these advances in democratic self-government have been made." He then observed:

> My Government is especially pleased that Botswana and Lesotho share with the United States the strong conviction that governments to be effective and strong must be based on the consent of those they govern. My Government is well aware also of the many obstacles that Botswana and Lesotho have overcome in their praiseworthy drive to build nations where man's dignity and worth are not determined by race. This is indeed a victory in the world-wide struggle toward the relations of equal rights and opportunities for all. This achievement brings Botswana and Lesotho to our membership with substantial contributions already in hand.

Three days later, on October 17, the General Assembly, by acclamation, adopted a resolution, cosponsored by 23 Commonwealth members, to admit Botswana and Lesotho to the United Nations.

Barbados, in agreement with the United Kingdom, became independent on November 30, 1966, and that same day applied for U.N. membership in a letter from its Prime Minister. The Security Council considered the application on December 7 and unanimously adopted a resolution, again cosponsored by Argentina, New Zealand, Nigeria, Uganda, the United Kingdom, and Uruguay, recommending the admission of Barbados.

Ambassador Goldberg welcomed the opportunity to vote for the admission of the new state, "the 26th independent nation in this hemisphere," and congratulated "both Barbados and the United Kingdom for the peaceful and friendly manner in which the transition to independence was accomplished." He referred to the recent independence day ceremonies in which Chief Justice Warren and a delegation of prominent Americans had participated, and then stated:

> We believe that Barbados enters the family of nations with a proud heritage which will serve it well as it faces the challenges of independence. Lord Caradon [the U.K. Representative] has made reference to their great democratic tradition. Indeed, it is well to remind ourselves that the Barbados House of Assembly, established in 1639, is the third oldest parliament in the Commonwealth of Nations and also the third oldest in the Western Hemisphere. The Barbados Declaration of Rights of 1651 was well known to the framers of our Declaration of Independence and to the framers of our Constitution. Indeed, many of the rights which were proclaimed in the Barbados Declaration of Rights were later echoed in these great American documents of independence and equality.

The people of Barbados have enjoyed full internal self-government since 1961 and their government was chosen in free democratic elections under universal suffrage. So this country is well prepared to take its place in the family of nations as a sovereign state.

On December 9 the General Assembly adopted by acclamation a resolution, cosponsored by 25 Commonwealth members, admitting Barbados to U.N. membership.

RETURN OF INDONESIA

Early in April 1966, Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Adam Malik, stated that the new Indonesian Government would seek the broadest possible international cooperation and would consider participation in international organizations, including the United Nations.

The previous year, in a letter of January 20, 1965, the then Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio, had informed the U.N. Secretary-General that Indonesia was withdrawing from the United Nations as of January 1 of that year, and would also withdraw from specialized agencies such as the FAO, UNICEF, and UNESCO. In his reply of February 26, the Secretary-General, *inter alia,* had expressed the hope that Indonesia would in due time "resume full cooperation with the United Nations." No action was taken by either the General Assembly or the Security Council on the Indonesian letter.

In the months immediately following Foreign Minister Malik's statement, Indonesia moved to rescind its letters of withdrawal from those specialized agencies in which such withdrawal had not yet become effective (UNESCO and the International Labor Organization) and to resume its participation in others such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, and the Food and Agriculture Organization.

On the day before the 21st General Assembly convened, September 19, the Indonesian Ambassador to the United States sent a telegram to the U.N. Secretary-General to inform him, on instruction of the Indonesian Government, that Indonesia had "decided to resume full cooperation with the United Nations and to resume participation in its activities" starting with the Assembly's 21st session. This communication, like the letter of withdrawal in 1965, was issued as both a Security Council and a General Assembly document and circulated to all U.N. member governments. On September 28 Indonesia resumed its seat in the General Assembly.

At the beginning of the plenary that day, the General Assembly President reviewed the formalities surrounding the Indonesian withdrawal in 1965. He then stated that it now appeared that Indonesia considered its recent absence from the United Nations not a withdrawal but "a cessation of cooperation," and that no action so far taken by the United Nations would seem to preclude this interpretation. If this view were shared by the U.N. membership generally, the Assembly President continued, the Secretary-General would make the necessary administrative arrangements to permit Indonesia once again to participate in the proceedings of the Organization.

The President further stated that it might be assumed that from the time its participation was resumed Indonesia would meet in full its budgetary obligations to the United Nations. Moreover, if it were the general view that Indonesia had continued to be a member of the Organization during its nonparticipation, the Secretary-General would negotiate with the Indonesian Representative an appropriate payment for the period of nonparticipation and report the outcome of these negotiations to the Assembly's Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary) Committee.

The Assembly President then declared that in the absence of objection he would consider that it was the will of the membership generally that Indonesia resume full participation in U.N. activities on the basis he had outlined. When there were no objections he invited the Indonesian representatives to take their seats in the General Assembly. Following a brief statement of appreciation by Foreign Minister Malik, the Assembly resumed its general debate.

On December 16 the Fifth Committee approved the future assessment of Indonesia at its old rate, and, as a result of the Secretary-General's negotiations, a total contribution of $170,257 for 1965 and 1966. On the last day of its 21st session, the Assembly accepted without objection these recommendations of the Fifth Committee.

Chinese Representation

During 1966 there were continuing efforts, initiated and supported by countries which recognize Communist China, to replace representatives of the Government of the Republic of China with those of Communist China throughout the U.N. system, in small technical bodies as well as the major forums of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. A majority of countries, including the United States, firmly and successfully countered these efforts. At every meeting where this problem arose there was agreement that no action should be taken to change the representation of China and that the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China were fully entitled to occupy their seats in these bodies.

The Chinese representation issue was debated most extensively at the General Assembly. In a letter dated August 29, 1966, to the U.N. Secretary-General, representatives of Albania, Algeria, Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Guinea, Mali, Romania, and Syria requested inclusion on the 21st General Assembly's agenda of an item under the familiar title, "Restoration of the Lawful Rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations." In the explanatory memorandum accompanying the letter, the sponsors depicted Communist China as desiring peace and peaceful coexistence with all countries. They stressed their contention that no important international problem could be solved without the participation of Communist China. The memorandum also spoke of the "myth" of the Republic of China and called for the recognition of the Chinese Communists as the "sole legitimate representatives of China" and stated that this implies the immediate expulsion of the "representatives of Chiang Kai-shek's clique."

As in recent years, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, did not oppose inscription of this item when the nine-nation request was considered by the Assembly's General (steering) Committee on September 21, and expressed his confidence that the question would be decided on its merits. After a brief discussion in which the representatives of China, France, Guinea, Hungary, Iraq, and the U.S.S.R. stated their views, the Committee, without a vote, recommended inscription of the item. On September 24 the General Assembly adopted the recommendation without discussion or vote.

On November 14 Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Gabon, Japan, Malagasy Republic, New Zealand, Nicaragua, the Philippines, Thailand, and the United States (joined later by Italy and Togo) submitted a draft resolution under which the Assembly would again, as in 1965, affirm that the

decision of the 16th General Assembly—that any proposal to change the representation of China is an important question under article 18 of the U.N. Charter, requiring a two-thirds majority for adoption—remained valid.

On November 16 Albania, Algeria, Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Guinea, Mali, Pakistan, Romania, and Syria (and later Mauritania) introduced a draft resolution which would have the General Assembly recognize the representatives of Communist China as "the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations" and would "expel forthwith the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it." For the first time this resolution combined the two basic elements—Communist China's admission and the Republic of China's expulsion—into a single operative paragraph in place of the previously customary two separate paragraphs.

Debate on the question opened in plenary on November 18, and on November 21 a third draft resolution was introduced by Italy, along with Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, and Trinidad and Tobago. In the preambular paragraphs of this draft the General Assembly would express its belief that a solution "which accords with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the aim of universality would further the purposes of the United Nations and strengthen its ability to maintain international peace and security" and that the "complexities of this question require the most searching consideration in order to pave the way to an appropriate solution, taking into account the existing situation and the political realities of the area." In its first operative paragraph the draft resolution would then have the Assembly decide to establish a committee of member states "with the mandate of exploring and studying the situation in all its aspects in order to make the appropriate recommendations to the General Assembly at its twenty-second session for an equitable and practical solution to the question of the representation of China in the United Nations, in keeping with the principles and purposes of the Charter."

On November 21 Ambassador Goldberg said that the United States would vote for the important question resolution since the action proposed "holds important and far-reaching implications for the United Nations, vitally concerns the maintenance of international peace and security, and is directly connected with the rights and privileges of membership." He stated that the present "important question" resolution would simply affirm the continuing validity of the Assembly's prior decision on this vital point. He went on to state:

> . . . it is my Government's deep conviction . . . that procedural rules such as this are not trivial things. Substantive rights largely depend upon observance of procedural rights. And it is in fidelity to the Charter concept that all important questions require a two-thirds majority that we emphatically urge the adoption of the fourteen-power resolution.

In opposing the Albanian resolution he contrasted Communist China's activities, its goals, and its hostile attitude toward the United Nations with the constructive record of the Republic of China, and pointed out that the proposed expulsion of the Republic of China ran counter to the aim of universality which the sponsors claimed for the resolution.

He said, further, that the United States would vote for the study committee resolution because "it does not in any way prejudice and undermine our commitments, nor indeed does it prejudge the results of the study to be made." He added that the United States hoped that the proposed study committee might help to obtain an-

swers to certain questions: would Peking refrain from putting forward clearly unacceptable demands, specifically, the expulsion from the United Nations of the Republic of China, and would it assume the obligations of the U.N. Charter, in particular to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or the political independence of any state?

The Chinese Communists, through their official Chinese news agency, described the proposal for a study committee as an "absurd idea." Moreover they stated in the official party organ, *People's Daily:* "No one can deprive China of its legitimate rights in the United Nations. Taiwan is an inalienable part of Chinese territory and no one can make the Chinese people waver in their stand for the liberation of Taiwan. All forms of the 'two-Chinas' scheme are doomed to bankruptcy."

The Government of the Republic of China likewise opposed the resolution on the ground that it was "obviously designed to pave the way for the eventual admission of Peiping," and that no inquiry was necessary to ascertain the attitude toward the United Nations of the Chinese Communists, who, Foreign Minister Wei stated, had "repudiated the principles and purposes of the Charter" in words as well as deeds.

After 12 plenary meetings during which 70 delegations expressed their views, the General Assembly on November 29 voted on the three draft resolutions in the order in which they had been submitted. The 15-state proposal affirming the continuing validity of the important question decision of 1961 was adopted by a vote of 66 to 48, with 7 abstentions.

Those voting in favor were Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Botswana, Brazil, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Kinshasa), Costa Rica, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Gabon, The Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Malagasy Republic, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldive Islands, Malta, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Spain, Thailand, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States, Upper Volta, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

Those voting against were Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cambodia, Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iraq, Kenya, Kuwait, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., the United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia, and Zambia.

Those abstaining were Austria, Cameroon, Chad, Cyprus, Iran, Portugal, and Sierra Leone.

The 11-power resolution to replace the Representatives of the Republic of China with Chinese Communists was then rejected by a vote of 46 to 57, with 17 abstentions.

Those voting in favor were Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cambodia, Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Kenya, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanzania, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., the United Arab Republic, the United Kingdom, Yemen, Yugoslavia, and Zambia.

Opposed were Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Central African Republic, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Kinshasa), Costa Rica, Dahomey, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Gabon, The Gambia, Greece, Guatemala, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Malagasy Republic, Malawi, Malaysia, Malta, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the Philippines, Rwanda, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Spain, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, the United States, Upper Volta, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

Those abstaining were Austria, Botswana, Cameroon, Canada, Chad, Cyprus, Iran, Jamaica, Kuwait, Lebanon, Maldive Islands, Morocco, the Netherlands, Portugal, Singapore, Trinidad and Tobago, and Tunisia. Laos did not participate in the vote.

Prior to the vote on the study committee resolution, Syria, supported by Congo (Brazzaville) and Pakistan, proposed that in light of the "important question" resolution already adopted, the study committee resolution should also require a two-thirds majority for adoption. The Italian Representative opposed this on the ground that the study committee resolution would merely establish a committee, clearly a procedural matter requiring only a simple majority for adoption. He stated that there was a clear difference between a decision to establish the committee and a decision to approve any proposal submitted in due time by such a body. The Assembly, however, approved the Syrian proposal by a vote of 51 to 37 (U.S.), with 30 abstentions, and then rejected the draft resolution by a vote of 34 to 62, with 25 abstentions.

Voting for the study committee were Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Congo (Kinshasa), Ecuador, Greece, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Liberia, Libya, Luxembourg, Malawi, Malta, Mexico, Morocco, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, the United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

Opposed were Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Australia, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cambodia, Central African Republic, Ceylon, China, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, France, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Kenya, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Nepal, Niger, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, the Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Singapore, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanzania, Thailand, Togo, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia, and Zambia.

Abstaining were Argentina, Austria, Cameroon, Chad, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Gabon, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Indonesia, Iran, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Malaysia, Maldive Islands, Nigeria, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, and the United Kingdom.

The Soviet Union raised the Chinese representation issue again in the Credentials Committee (consisting of Austria, El Salvador, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Japan, Nepal, Nicaragua, U.S.S.R., and the U.S.). Stating that only Chinese Communists could represent China in the United Nations, the Soviet Representative on December 15 introduced the familiar draft resolution calling for the Committee to decide "to consider invalid the credentials of the persons calling themselves the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China . . . due to the incompatibility of these credentials with the require-

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ments of Rule 27 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly."

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Richard F. Pedersen, stated he would vote against the draft resolution for two reasons: first, because there was no legal basis for challenging the Chinese credentials which had been submitted as provided in Rule 27; and second, because the resolution was out of order, the question of the representation of China having already been decided by the General Assembly on November 29. El Salvador, Ivory Coast, Japan, and Nicaragua also spoke in opposition to the Soviet proposal, while Guinea and Nepal supported it. The Committee then rejected it by a vote of 3 to 5, with 1 abstention.

On December 19 the General Assembly voted 87 (U.S.) to 0, with 25 abstentions, to approve the report of the Credentials Committee which, after noting the differing views expressed by members of the Committee, accepted the credentials of all representatives to the 21st session. Before the vote, Representatives of Afghanistan, Albania, Burma, Czechoslovakia, Congo (Brazzaville), France, Guinea, India, Mali, Nepal, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Syria, Tanzania, U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia expressed their reservations on the credentials of the Republic of China's delegation.

Cooperation Between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity

In accordance with a resolution of the 20th General Assembly, the Secretary-General on September 8, 1966, reported to the 21st General Assembly on means of promoting cooperation between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). He pointed out that the principal avenues being used for cooperation are: (1) exchange of representation at meetings of the two organizations; (2) continuous liaison and exchange of information at the secretariat level; and (3) technical cooperation in such matters as the recruitment and training of conference and other staff.

The report noted particular scope for cooperation between the OAU and the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and cited the agreement between the OAU and the United Nations of November 15, 1965, which provides for mutual consultation, reciprocal representation, and the exchange and joint use of information between secretariats, including assistance in staffing. It mentioned as an example of the practical use of this arrangement, the joint OAU–ECA sponsorship of meetings of work parties established by the ECA in the fields of telecommunications, trade, monetary problems, manpower, and training.

In a resolution unanimously adopted December 15, 1966, the General Assembly noted the Secretary-General's report, expressed satisfaction with the progress achieved so far in fostering cooperation between the two organizations, and invited the Secretary-General to continue his efforts, particularly in the fields of technical cooperation and liaison between the respective secretariats, and to report to the Assembly "as appropriate."

Installation of Mechanical Means of Voting

On the recommendation of the Secretary-General, the General Assembly on December 7, 1966, approved without objection, the use of mechanical voting equipment in the main General Assembly Hall on a permanent basis. The Assembly also approved the Secretary-General's recommendation that it postpone until its 22d session a decision on possible extension of the system to committee rooms.

The Assembly's decision followed extensive use of the equipment during the 21st Assembly, not only for plenary meetings, but also, on a rotating basis, for meetings of the main committees. The ease of operation, speed, and accuracy of mechanical voting, first demonstrated during the 20th session, was confirmed during this session. The equipment was installed on an experimental basis as a result of a decision of the 18th General Assembly, and its use will again cost about $10,000 during 1967.

Cooperation in the Economic, Social, Scientific, and Human Rights Fields

Part Two

The Role of the Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the principal U.N. organ under the Charter in the economic, social, human rights, and related fields, emerged in 1966 with new strength and promise after a period of low ebb. In recent years the role of ECOSOC had been frequently questioned and challenged. Was it anything more than a paper-mill distributing an ever-growing volume of reports and resolutions? Was it, as asserted by many of the developing countries, a stronghold of the Western Powers bent on preserving their privileged economic position in the world? Was it failing in its responsibilities to help the developing countries in their struggle for a better life and to promote the conditions of stability and well-being that are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations?

1966 saw the effect of the Charter amendment that increased the membership of ECOSOC from 18 to 27. This enlargement benefited primarily the developing countries, which now hold 17 seats. As a result, the developing countries began to take the work of ECOSOC more seriously and to recognize it as an effective tool of international economic and social cooperation.

During the year ECOSOC continued to review and reappraise its role and functions, and adopted new procedures designed to render it more effective as the principal U.N. organ concerned with the review, in global perspective, of economic, social, and related problems; the promotion of economic growth and social progress; and the overall coordination of the activities of the United Nations and its related organizations in these fields.

The decisions taken covered such items as the reorganization and streamlining of the work of ECOSOC itself; the reduction of burdensome documentation; the enlargement and change in periodicity of meetings of functional commissions and committees; the reorganization of the Special Committee on Coordination (SCC) as the Committee for Program and Coordination (CPC) and provision for joint meetings between it and the Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC); the strengthening of U.N. public information activities; and the evaluation of programs of technical cooperation.

U.N. Public Information Activities

For some years, the United States and other members have been concerned over public apathy in many parts of the world toward the economic and social activities of the United Nations. Much of this has been ascribed to the inadequacies of the U.N. public information service. The President of ECOSOC, Ambassador Tewfik Bouattoura of Algeria, in the foreword to the report of the Economic and Social Council to the 21st General Assembly stated:

> It is, I feel, important that, for the first time, the Council has concerned itself with the question of the dissemination of information on international problems confronting it and on the solutions it seeks. In the field of economic and social affairs, as in politics, institutions are worth no more than the spirit of co-operation which moves them and the political will of Member States to translate into decisions their recommendations. . . . While the world is confronted with a truly explosive situation, this complacency and this apathy persist to an appalling extent. I deeply believe that all the efforts made towards greater international co-operation for development, within and without the United Nations family, will remain inadequate, marginal even, as long as people are not conscious of the true dimensions of the crisis in which we live, of the impending catastrophe.

Led by the United States, ECOSOC decided at its 41st session that the public information activities of the United Nations, particularly in the economic, social, and human rights fields, should be improved. In his statement in the general debate, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador James Roosevelt, stressed that if governments were to continue and increase their support of the United Nations, steps had to be taken to give the people of the world thorough and better information and to increase their understanding of the work being done by the United Nations.

The United States proposed a resolution, eventually cosponsored by Algeria, Dahomey, India, Peru, the Philippines, and Sweden, that requested the Secretary-General to undertake a study of U.N. information activities in the economic, social, and human rights fields, and to suggest ways in which the information programs of governments and private groups could give support to the United Nations through the press, radio, TV, and cinema. The study, together with ECOSOC's comments on it, will be submitted to the 22d session of the General Assembly. After initial opposition by the U.S.S.R., the resolution was adopted unanimously. It is hoped that this will prove a positive step toward bringing to the attention of the people of the world, in a vital and compelling way, the work that the United Nations is doing to help the peoples of the world in their struggle for economic and social development.

Improved Documentation

The Council, which had threatened to collapse under the weight of documentation, made a determined effort in early 1966 to streamline its documentation and to request and receive only reports requiring action or permitting it to discharge its functions more speedily and to better effect.

On the recommendations of the Secretary-General, the 40th session of ECOSOC took steps to reduce and refine the documentation prepared for it by the Secretariat. By the 41st session (summer 1966) considerable improvement had been made and the distribution of reports in better time for government consideration was being achieved. In particular, the preparation of summaries and conclusions in the case of many lengthy reports facilitated both the work of ECOSOC and consideration by governments. As a result, the debates in ECOSOC were better focused and more productive in terms of concrete and realistic results.

Improving documentation, essential to the effectiveness of both ECOSOC and the General Assembly, is a never-ending task. Thus, ECOSOC also recommended that the regular and special reports of the specialized agencies should be improved and standardized, and should clearly identify activities that might involve duplication of other agencies' work. The annual reports, it was decided, should contain a section on technical assistance activities. The ACC was assigned the task of preparing a uniform reporting pattern in light of the suggestions made.

Reorganization of the Special Committee on Coordination

In order to facilitate the discharge of its major functions, ECOSOC had established a Special Committee on Coordination (SCC) in 1962. In preparation for the summer session of ECOSOC in 1966, the SCC was to review the U.N. work program and the reports of the ACC, the specialized agencies, and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The SCC was, furthermore, to have a joint meeting with the ACC for discussion of common problems. The SCC consisted of 10 members, including the United States, plus the officers of the Council and the chairman of the Coordination Committee (an ECOSOC Committee of the Whole).

The documentation submitted by the Secretariat on the U.N. work program followed the program budgeting approach and proved most helpful. Unfortunately it was not submitted until the meeting opened and the SCC was therefore not able to consider it in depth during the less than 2 weeks allotted to it. The SCC reaffirmed the usefulness of the program budgeting approach, formulated a number of suggestions regarding some sections of the work program, and made recommendations looking toward improved future performance.

In its report to ECOSOC the SCC noted its own inability to cope adequately with the information belatedly presented to it. It suggested that (1) in the future its members be chosen for a longer period to assure continuity and expertise; (2) it meet for a longer period; and (3) its title be changed to the Committee for Program and Coordination to reflect more fully its responsibilities.

While this report was being discussed, the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies (Committee of 14), which had been meeting at length in New York and Geneva, became available. Although not on ECOSOC's agenda, the Council was aware that this report dealt in depth with its procedures and coordination function, and explicitly referred to the work of the SCC. At its 41st session, therefore, ECOSOC adopted a resolution reconstituting the Special Committee on Coordination as a Committee for Program and Coordination (CPC), and providing for it to meet twice annually. At its first session it will review the U.N. work program and its budgetary implications; at its second it will deal with problems of coordination throughout the U.N. system. The resolution left open such questions as membership and terms of office, until the resumed part of the 41st session, pending the discussion in the General Assembly of the Committee of 14's report. ECOSOC did provide for the continuation of joint meetings of the CPC and the ACC.

At its resumed session in November 1966 ECOSOC decided that the reconstituted committee should be composed of 16 states to be elected for a period of 3 years, and requested each elected state to indicate the govern-

ment expert whom it would designate to serve on the committee, giving due consideration to the recommendation of the Committee of 14 that the government experts should have a high degree of experience and competence in: (1) the United Nations and related organizations in the economic, financial, and social areas, and (2) the governing bodies of the specialized agencies and subsidiary bodies of the United Nations. The United States, one of the elected members, announced its intention to be represented by Walter M. Kotschnig, Deputy U.S. Representative on the Economic and Social Council.

Before the end of 1966 an additional task and additional members were added to the CPC at the request of the General Assembly. On the initiative of Malta and Trinidad and Tobago in the Second (Economic and Financial) Committee, the Assembly decided there should be a review of the programs and activities in the economic, social, technical cooperation, and related fields carried out by the United Nations, specialized agencies, and all other institutions and agencies related to the U.N. system. In order not to proliferate committees and duplicate activities, the General Assembly in a resolution of December 3, 1966, requested the Economic and Social Council to enlarge the CPC by five additional member states "to be designated by the President of the General Assembly for a period not exceeding three years and with due regard to equitable geographic distribution." Thus enlarged, the Committee is to perform the following tasks:

(1) undertake a review to provide a clear and comprehensive picture of existing operational and research activities of the U.N. family of organizations; and

(2) on the basis of this review, recommend modifications in existing activities, procedures, and administrative arrangements in order to insure (a) maximum concentration of resources on programs of direct relevance to member states, (b) flexible, prompt, and effective response to specific needs of individual countries within the limits of available resources, (c) the minimum burden on the administrative resources of member states and of members of the U.N. family, (d) the evolution of an integrated system of long-term planning on a program basis, and (e) institution of systematic procedures for evaluating effectiveness of operational and research activities.

In order to fulfill these tasks, the Secretary-General was asked to provide the Committee with (1) a report on the documentation available on the existing operational and research programs at the country, regional, and headquarters levels, (2) a report on the nature and size of funds available to the U.N. family from 1965 through 1967, (3) an outline for a handbook of procedures for requesting assistance from members of the U.N. family, as well as the financial and technical criteria on which such assistance is provided, (4) a complete inventory of all persons serving in the field, and (5) steps taken by the organizations in the U.N. system to keep the Governing Council of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the U.N. Resident Representatives fully informed about the technical assistance projects and programs undertaken by them but not financed by the UNDP.

This particular mandate is clearly formidable and will require considerable time to carry out. ECOSOC complied with this request at its resumed session and agreed that there would be a third session of the enlarged CPC during 1967 to come to grips with this job. The main objective of this resolution is to release more funds for direct assistance to member governments while maintaining the essential research activities at headquarters. It is evident that in the next 3 years the CPC will be breaking new ground in the review and management of the programs and technical assistance activities of the United Nations and its related agencies.

ECOSOC and the Administrative Committee on Coordination

The tasks placed upon the ACC, composed of the top executives of the U.N. system under the chairmanship of the Secretary-General, have grown over the years. 1966 was no exception. ACC's report to ECOSOC in 1966 illustrated the extent to which the ACC was increasingly concerning itself with positive coordination, as distinct from coordination aimed only at avoiding overlap and duplication. During the year the ACC had in progress such tasks as preparing a comprehensive list of the activities of the U.N. specialized agencies and the IAEA, together with an indication of the expenditures involved under both the regular budgets and the extra budgetary programs; a study of a uniform format for the preparation and presentation of budgets; and a report to suggest, in consultation with the regional economic commissions, ways to secure proper coordination, through systematic consultations and cooperation, of the contributions that the United Nations and the agencies can make to existing or contemplated planning, training, and research institutes.

The size and importance of these tasks reinforced the point made in previous ECOSOC meetings that the staff of the ACC needed to be strengthened. Resolutions to this end had been approved in the past, but little, if anything, had been done to give them effect. The Council decided at its 41st session that the situation was untenable. A resolution co-sponsored by Canada, Iran, Luxembourg, and the United States asked the Secretary-General to explore the possibility of financing an enlarged ACC staff, following the example of the International Civil Service Advisory Board, by prorating the cost of staff among the agencies. While the U.N. Secretariat was reluctant to see this provision included, the agencies were more sympathetic. The resolution reflected the belief that steps must be taken to provide an adequate secretariat for the ACC. The resolution ran into some opposition from a few delegations, led by the U.S.S.R. However, in the plenary no one voted against this important resolution, and only three countries (Czechoslovakia, Pakistan, and U.S.S.R.) abstained.

Joint Meeting of the SCC and ACC

The first joint meeting between the SCC and the ACC was held in July 1966 to bring about a closer relationship between the members of the ACC and the members of ECOSOC and to create a better understanding of their common problems. Discussions focused on the current state of interagency coordination and on ways in which the ACC and ECOSOC could contribute more effectively to the attainment of common goals. There was broad agreement that organizational coordination was reasonably good and steadily improving. However, it was also recognized that there was room for considerable improvement in coordination of a more positive and dynamic kind at the planning as well as later stages of work. Although it was felt that joint meetings were helpful, it was agreed that they could not take the place of active participation of the agencies in the proceedings of ECOSOC and its subsidiary bodies. The meeting accepted a suggestion by the SCC that U.N. bodies, and specifically ECOSOC, consult with the agencies concerning draft resolutions pertaining to them. This procedure has not yet been adopted by the General Assembly.

At the same time, the agencies were urged to take fuller advantage of the provision in their agreements with the United Nations that allows them to participate fully in the discussion at ECOSOC and in its committees on matters of direct interest to them. They were urged to put forward their views early in the debates rather than wait and raise possible objections after action was determined.

The joint meeting was welcomed as the beginning of a dialogue between ECOSOC and the ACC which should be continued to the benefit of all. At future meetings the members of the CPC may be represented by their representatives to ECOSOC.

Evaluation of Technical Cooperation Programs

Since 1962 the United States has been advocating an effective permanent evaluation system for U.N. technical cooperation programs. 1966 produced a breakthrough with the completion of three pilot studies. Evaluation teams sent to Tunisia, Thailand, and Chile finished their investigations and submitted their reports to the 41st session of ECOSOC.

All three studies were well received by the governments concerned and by ECOSOC. The Tunisian team found that, "generally speaking, United Nations experts in Tunisia have been extremely competent and well qualified [and] have shown great dedication to their work." It concluded, "We consider that the United Nations technical assistance program has had a significant impact in Tunisia and that the greater part of the activity of the organizations participating in the program is suited to the country's needs and fits into its national planning. We also consider that, in general, the Government is fulfilling its obligations under the various United Nations projects in an appropriate manner."

The team to Thailand stated that there had been a growth toward maturity in the technical assistance programs to which "both the United Nations technical assistance and bilateral assistance have contributed, resulting in a substantial increase in the effectiveness of impact."

The Chilean team observed, "The impact of the totality of U.N. technical assistance in Chile on the development of the country's economic and social life cannot be measured at the present time; nevertheless, its effect in various sectors may be considered highly effective."

All three evaluations stressed the need for greater cooperation in the host country among the specialized agencies and between them and the U.N. Resident Representatives. In commenting on the reports in the Coordination Committee, the U.S. Representative, Miss Kathleen Bell, welcomed a recommendation by the Secretary-General that an interagency committee be set up to consider the reports. She pointed out that the ultimate value of the reports would lie in the application of the recommendations. She expressed the hope that all of the recommendations would be considered and implemented by the United Nations and the agencies concerned, and that the projects would "lead to the establishment of adequate permanent machinery to direct, organize and administer such undertakings." She cautioned, however, that to be most effective, an evaluation of U.N. programs in any given country must also consider the activities that various donor countries are conducting bilaterally and how bilateral and multilateral efforts are related to one another.

Subsequently, ECOSOC endorsed the Secretary-General's recommendation for the interagency study group. Pending completion of the study group's work, however, the Council

decided to continue its systematic evaluation of the overall and specific impact of the operational programs and requested the Secretary-General to undertake a limited number of further evaluation projects. The Council also asked the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and the IAEA to submit to it at its 43d session, through the ACC, a consolidated report on existing practices with regard to the evaluation of their projects and programs of technical cooperation.

ECOSOC's efforts to achieve an effective evaluation system received a strong boost from the Committee of 14, which recommended that both ECOSOC and the ACC should encourage the development of common evaluation methods and standards for the U.N. organizations. It further recommended that ECOSOC "continue its systematic evaluation of the impact, both over-all and specific, of the programmes of the organizations in the economic and social field in meeting the needs of Member States and, if necessary, strengthen arrangements for coordinating evaluation."

ECOSOC and Its Functional Commissions

The overcrowded agenda of the summer session in Geneva had for years detracted from ECOSOC's effectiveness. It was accordingly decided that the annual workload should be more evenly divided between the sessions. At the first session, to be held in New York during the second quarter of each year, the Council will review the work of its subsidiary organs (which in the future will meet between August and mid-March), as well as the overall U.N. work program in the economic, social, and human rights fields together with its budgetary implications.

Specific reports on questions not subject to prior discussion in a subsidiary body of ECOSOC, such as the development of natural resources, travel and tourism, transport, and communications, will also be discussed at the first session. The spring session, thus, will be devoted primarily to the carrying out of ECOSOC's first general function—that as governing body of U.N. programs, commissions, and committees in the economic and social fields.

At the summer session, ECOSOC will concentrate on its other two major functions: the discussion and formulation of economic and social policy and coordination. The agenda will include consideration of the surveys of the world economic and social situations; the reports of the specialized agencies, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the ACC, and CPC; and the reports on the operational programs of the UNDP.

In addition, one week of the session, as in the past, will be devoted to a discussion of major policy issues together with such subjects as ECOSOC may select in advance for discussion in depth. This reorganization of ECOSOC's work program could become one of its most important decisions if the distribution of items between the sessions works out in practice as intended.

Closely related to the reorganization of ECOSOC's agenda are the questions of the size of its functional commissions and committees and the periodicity of their meetings. Since the Council itself was enlarged, it was decided that the functional committees and commissions would also benefit from a broadening of their membership. The Commissions on Human Rights, Social Development, and the Status of Women, and the Committee on Housing, Building and Planning were enlarged to 32 members; the Statistical and Population Commissions to 27; and the Commission on Narcotic Drugs to 24. With the exception of the Commission on

Narcotic Drugs, the geographic distribution for the commissions, giving the developing countries a preponderance of seats, was set out in the resolution that enlarged them.

There was considerable difference of opinion on whether the functional commissions and other subsidiary bodies of ECOSOC should meet biennially rather than annually. The Secretary-General recommended considering the possibility of deciding, as a general rule, that functional and other subsidiary bodies meet biennially. This recommendation was reinforced by the second report of the Committee of 14 which made a similar recommendation.

The United States opposed biennial meetings of any commissions other than the two that were already meeting on a biennial basis (Population and Statistical). This position reflected the strong feelings of interested groups both inside and outside the government that the work of all the functional commissions was so important as to require annual meetings.

A resolution recommending that all functional commissions except the Commission on Human Rights and the Commission for Social Development meet biennially between August and mid-March was introduced during the 41st session in the Coordination Committee by Canada, Chile, Pakistan, and Sweden and adopted. On the initiative of Greece, Iraq, and the Philippines, the Commission on the Status of Women was added to the list of exceptions in the plenary of ECOSOC by a vote of 12 (U.S.) to 11, with 2 abstentions. A U.K. proposal to include the Commission on Narcotic Drugs in the excepted list was defeated by a vote of 6 (U.S.) to 12, with 5 abstentions.

In supporting these two amendments, the U.S. Representative added that if it had had the opportunity the United States would also have supported annual meetings for the Committee on Housing, Building and Planning. While voting in both committee and plenary for the resolution as a whole, which included the reorganization of the Council as described above, the United States abstained on the part relating to the periodicity of meetings.

This discussion generated so much controversy, however, that the sponsors included a provision in the resolution enabling ECOSOC to convene a special session of any commission between its regular sessions if the need should arise, and deciding that the matter would be reviewed again at the 42d session of the Council. The question, therefore, remained essentially unresolved.

Economic Development Planning, Projections, and Policies

In order to strengthen U.N. work in development planning, ECOSOC in 1965 established a Committee for Development Planning which includes several world famous development planners among its 18 members, all of whom serve in their personal capacity as experts. At its first session, held at U.N. Headquarters, May 2–11, 1966, the Committee decided, for its future work:

1. To consider and evaluate the programs and activities of the U.N. organs and the specialized agencies that relate to development planning and projections, and to propose measures for their improvement by ECOSOC;

2. To consider and evaluate the progress made by the United Nations and the specialized agencies in the transfer of knowledge to developing

countries and in the training of personnel of those countries in development planning and projections;

3. To analyze, with the help of U.N. organs and the specialized agencies, the major world trends of planning and programming, the principal problems and the solutions they are receiving, and the progress made in that connection relevant to the development of the less developed regions; and

4. To study individual questions on development planning and programming referred to it by the ECOSOC, by the Secretary-General, or by the executive heads of the specialized agencies.

The Committee concluded that progress has been disappointing both in the implementation of developing countries' plans and in achieving the goals of the U.N. Development Decade. It found that in many developing countries the practical steps taken have been inadequate to translate the plans into operations. In some cases country plans have been virtually ignored and no action taken to implement them.

The U.N. Center for Development Planning, Projections and Policies helps to solve these problems in a variety of ways. During 1966 the Center evaluated approximately 200 reports of experts on field missions, appraised 85 applications for U.N. fellowships, evaluated the qualifications of 771 candidates for technical assistance assignments, and acted as executing agency for five UNDP projects on development planning, including training. The Center also conducted an interregional seminar on long-term economic projections for the world economy and an interregional seminar on development planning.

The Center regularly publishes an annual *World Economic Survey* and prepares reports on such subjects as the international flow of capital, the economic and social consequences of disarmament, and the financing of economic development. The Center also provides U.N. member governments with advisory services in development planning and programming.

At its first session, the Committee for Development Planning requested the Center to prepare, in addition to its regular reports,

1. a report on the major activities relating to development planning and projections that are currently underway within the United Nations and a list of the most important studies on planning intended to be carried out within the U.N. family by 1970;

2. studies of methods of assessing the effectiveness of plan implementation, and surveys of results conducted in accordance with these methods;

3. draft proposals on procedures and basic methodological premises for worldwide projections to be carried out within the U.N. framework;

4. a progress report on work underway on the problems of the gap in external accounts of the developing countries;

5. a progress report on work underway on the problem of inadequate expansion of food and agricultural production;

6. a note examining the desirability and feasibility of requesting governments to present information on their projections and development plans according to standardized forms prepared by the United Nations for projection purposes; and

7. a report evaluating the work of U.N. technical assistance experts in planning, with recommendations for strengthening the Development Planning Advisory Services Unit of the Center.

Economic Cooperation

During 1966, at the midpoint of the U.N. Development Decade, the United Nations continued its many and varied activities designed to assist less developed members in dealing with their formidable problems of economic development. There were a number of significant institutional developments intended either to increase the effectiveness of existing U.N. programs or to extend the scope of U.N. activities into new spheres of economic cooperation.

For example, the merger of two technical cooperation programs—the Special Fund and the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance—into the U.N. Development Program under a single management will provide more efficient programming and use of available resources. In large measure this merger resulted from U.S. efforts dating back to 1961. With this reorganization the UNDP became the major single source of financing for U.N. technical assistance operations.

In a related action, the General Assembly approved the operating procedures, functions, and administrative arrangements for the U.N. Industrial Development Organization. The Assembly established the institutional framework for what is hoped will be a substantially expanded program of technical assistance for the promotion of industrialization in the less developed countries.

During the year the machinery of the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development, which had been organized during 1965, began to concern itself with the various trade and related development problems of the developing countries. Meanwhile, the focus of activity with respect to trade continued to be on the Kennedy Round negotiations in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade which sought to reduce substantially both tariff and nontariff obstacles to freer trade.

Thus, on a number of fronts the U.N. capacity to implement programs of economic cooperation was strengthened in organizational terms. The General Assembly also sought to broaden the scope of U.N. activities by voting to establish a U.N. Capital Development Fund that would make loans and grants to developing countries for investment purposes. The United States did not support this move, however, and along with other major donor countries voted against the resolution establishing this fund (see page 113).

Within the framework of the regional economic commissions, cooperation took various forms. A major event of 1966 was the opening for business of the Asian Development Bank, a project initially proposed by the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. In addition, nine countries, including the United States, gave concrete expression to economic cooperation under the aegis of the regional commissions by offering to finance fully the construction of the Nam Ngum Dam, one of the major projects for the development of the Mekong River Basin. And in Africa, a decision was made "in principle" to establish an Economic Community of the Western African States.

Another action which may have important long-range implications in the field of economic development and cooperation occurred December 17 with the unanimous adoption by the General Assembly of a resolution calling on the United Nations and the specialized agencies to assist, upon request, in developing and strengthening national and regional facilities for training, research, information, and advisory services in the field of population.

Economic Commission for Europe (ECE)

The United States participated actively in the work of the ECE and its major sectoral committees in 1966 and intensified its participation in some of the technical work being undertaken by various subcommittees and working groups. The United States was represented at the 21st plenary session of the Commission (April 12–29) by a delegation headed by Ambassador Eugenie M. Anderson, and also participated in the main subsidiary bodies: Committee on Agricultural Problems; Coal Committee; Conference of European Statisticians; Electric Power Committee; Gas Committee; Committee on Housing, Building and Planning; Inland Transport Committee; Steel Committee; Timber Committee; and Committee on Development of Trade.

Overall committee activity is directed toward considering measures for raising the level of European economic activity and for strengthening the economic relations of the European countries among themselves and with other countries of the world. The Commission membership includes all countries of Europe and the United States, and thereby provides a unique framework for the examination of the differing economic views and policies of the East and West.

The U.S. policy of encouraging expanded East-West economic contacts was stressed by Ambassador Frances E. Willis, the U.S. Representative to the Committee on the Development of Trade (October 17–24, 1966). She said:

> We are actively seeking these broader contacts and exchanges, and we welcome the stepped-up pace of our trade with partners in Eastern Europe as a harbinger of better relations in general. It was in this context that President Johnson announced on October 7 his administration's program designed to shape a new political environment between East and West. The President included specifically measures relating to trade which had already been taken or for which he intended to press.

A study tour for the Coal Committee was held in the United States in June 1966. The National Coal Association and its affiliate, the Coal Exporters Association, Inc., acted as local hosts and arranged visits to coal mining and related institutions in the United States. Committee members were given an opportunity to observe the high degree of mechanization and efficiency in the U.S. industry and the way in which labor and management have cooperated in this process.

Work on the committee level for the most part was marked in 1966 by increased practical cooperation between East and West on matters of joint concern. The periodic meetings of Senior Economic Advisers have provided one of the best forums for dialogue with the countries of Eastern Europe. The fourth meeting, held in June 1966, considered problems in the construction and application of macroeconomic models for planning and policymaking. The Senior Economic Advisers also drew up a program of work for the next few years, including the establishment of *ad hoc* groups on specific economic topics and more frequent meetings of the Advisers.

The Conference of European Statisticians continued to be a major contributor to the work being done by the U.N. Statistical Commission in New York to make national income and national accounts statistics comparable between countries of different economic systems (see page 116). The Conference made a number of proposals, which the United States supported, for streamlining statistical work of the ECE, including the establishment of a statistical division in the ECE secretariat to centralize and coordinate such activities.

The United States continued to participate where its trade interests are involved in many of the ECE's activities directed toward harmonizing commercial practices and meth-

ods. Two ECE conventions which had been developed sometime earlier—one relating to transport of containers and the other to customs carnets—were submitted by the President to the Senate in 1966 for advice and consent to ratification. In the field of agriculture, the United States participated in a number of meetings held jointly with the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) to develop standards for various foodstuffs as a means of facilitating trade. The United States is also taking part in an ECE group that has been examining problems connected with the use of containers in international trade between the United States and Europe. Work continued, with U.S. participation, toward standardizing export documents. In 1966, the United States took an active part in developing uniform regulations for classifying, packing, and labeling dangerous goods moving in national and international traffic, and in developing standards for motor vehicle parts.

The ECE has been giving increased attention in various subsidiary bodies to the development of water resources, control of water pollution, and prevention of air pollution. In the field of housing, building, and planning, the ECE raised to subcommittees its two working parties on urban renewal and planning, and on the building industry. The United States has taken a leading role in the first of these subcommittees.

Although political issues are coming to have an almost negligible role in the continuing work of the ECE, such issues often emerge at the plenary sessions of the Commission. During the 1966 session, the main propaganda thrust by several Eastern European countries was against U.S. activities in Viet-Nam. All Western countries supported the United States in its use of the point-of-order procedure to forestall political attacks. On the substantive side, the Eastern group requested a stepping up of ECE's work on scientific and technical information. This was opposed by most Western countries, except on a *quid pro quo* basis.

A continuing problem in the ECE has been how to proceed with work on East-West trade. The most important substantive issue at the plenary session of the Commission in April 1966 was whether to reconvene the *Ad Hoc* Group to study problems of East-West trade by giving it a study assignment for the coming year. The West unanimously favored another meeting of the Group to continue its examination of East-West trade practices. The U.S.S.R. and other Eastern European countries insisted that: (1) the Group's work be continued only if the Commission undertook "practical work" leading toward a formulation of concrete recommendations to remove economic, administrative, and trade-policy obstacles to such trade; (2) the Group base such recommendations on the trade principles proposed in UNCTAD; and (3) member governments accept, at least as an objective, the application of the principles of the most-favored-nation treatment and nondiscrimination in East-West trade. The Western view was that the Group's permanent objective should be "effective reciprocity and mutual advantage" and that it was unnecessary to link ECE recommendations to UNCTAD principles. Despite intensive East-West negotiations these differences were not reconciled.

During consideration of East-West trade at the 15th session of the Committee on the Development of Trade in October 1966, the U.S.S.R. took an adamant stand calling for a binding commitment to most-favored-nation treatment from the West. Again, intensive East-West negotiations and attempts to salvage some sort of agreement on East-West trade failed.

The Commission will celebrate its 20th anniversary in 1967. To com-

memorate this event, the 21st plenary session in 1966 recommended a ministerial-level session preceding the opening of the 22d plenary in 1967.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE)

ECAFE, which has 27 members, extends eastward from Iran to include Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. Indonesia, after withdrawing its membership in 1965, resumed its cooperation with ECAFE in 1966. The United States participates as one of five nonregional members that joined when the Commission was established in 1947 to promote the reconstruction and economic development of postwar Asia.

During recent years ECAFE activities have shifted in emphasis from study and research to concrete action, particularly through programs of regional cooperation. Its concentrated efforts in this field stem from a resolution calling for regional cooperation passed at the Commission's annual session in 1960. Subsequently, the Commission established a Ministerial Conference on Asian Economic Cooperation, which met in 1963 and again in 1965. From these conferences have come many important recommendations, including the establishment of the Asian Development Bank.

In 1966 the largest regional project thus far proposed by ECAFE came into being when the Bank officially began its activities in Manila on December 19 with an authorized capital of $1.1 billion, an increase of $100 million over its original authorized capital. Another major development was the establishment of an Asian Industrial Development Council which held its first meeting in Bangkok in September 1966. It will meet twice annually and act as the executive body of the Asian Conference on Industrialization.

ECAFE also made considerable progress in the other areas described in the resolution on "dynamic Asian economic cooperation" adopted by the 1965 Ministerial Conference. These areas are: regional harmonization of development plans, regional trade liberalization and payments arrangements, industrialization and natural resources development, the Asian Highway, regional telecommunications, typhoon damage control, and population problems. The secretariat made preparations in 1966 for the convening of expert groups to consider in depth practical measures for regional cooperation in these areas.

ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

The Bank's organizational structure was completed in Tokyo from November 24 to 26, 1966, at the inaugural meeting of its Board of Governors, which elected a President, Takeshi Watanabe of Japan, and a board of 10 directors, 7 of whom are from the ECAFE region. The United States is represented on the Board of Governors by Secretary of the Treasury Henry Fowler and on its Board of Directors by Bernard Zagorin, formerly Special Assistant for International Affairs to the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

At their first meeting the Bank's Governors also admitted Indonesia as a new member, authorized the admission of Switzerland, accepted increased subscriptions from several ECAFE countries, and raised the authorized capital stock to $1.1 billion. Subscriptions already accepted amount to $965 million, of which $615 million have been made by 19 regional members and $350 million by 12 nonregional members. The United States, a charter member, contributed $200 million. The Bank's normal operations with its subscribed capital will consist largely of "hard loans." However, its Charter contains

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a provision authorizing the Bank to administer special funds provided by donor countries for "soft loans."

MEKONG COMMITTEE

After concerted efforts that began in 1965, the Mekong Committee obtained commitments for the full financing of the Nam Ngum Dam, a tributary project in Laos. In May 1966 a development fund agreement was signed for this project and preparatory construction work has begun. The United States is providing $12.1 million or one-half of the total cost, and eight other countries are contributing the other half. The construction of the dam is being administered by the World Bank.

The United States has actively supported the Mekong Committee program since the Committee's organization 9 years ago. During 1966 the United States continued to provide financial support for several programs involving more than one country. These were (1) the feasibility study for the proposed Pa Mong multipurpose dam project which is to be built on the Mekong mainstream between Thailand and Laos, west of Vientiane; (2) the Mekong systems analysis project which will computerize a mathematical analysis of the flow of water in the Mekong Basin area; and (3) the production of an atlas inventorying the natural and human resources in the Mekong Basin.

ASIAN HIGHWAY

The Asian Highway, a regional project initiated and sponsored by ECAFE, is being built to link existing main roads all the way from Viet-Nam and Singapore to Iran. Within ECAFE, its Asian Highway Coordinating Committee (AHCC) oversees these activities and during 1966 it established a Transport Technical Bureau with financial assistance from the U.N. Bureau of Technical Assistance, the United States, and other donor countries, pending additional financial assistance from the UNDP.

Two other projects currently under consideration by the AHCC are a 5-year development program and the development of a small all-purpose vehicle suitable for Asia's rural population.

ASIAN INSTITUTE

The Asian Institute for Economic Development and Planning, another ECAFE initiative, has operated as an autonomous institution in Bangkok under the Commission's aegis since 1964. It trains planners from the ECAFE countries and in 1966 expanded its work by undertaking research.

OTHER SECRETARIAT ACTIVITIES

The Committee for Coordination of Joint Prospecting for Mineral Resources in Asian Offshore Areas was set up by the ECAFE secretariat and held its first meeting at Manila in May 1966. Its membership is limited to Korea, China, Japan, and the Philippines, but the United States and other countries have supplied technical experts.

The secretariat in Bangkok engages in a wide range of other activities including those in the field of social development, trade studies, and statistics. The First Asian International Trade Fair, originally proposed by ECAFE, was held in Bangkok in November and December 1966. The United States participated with a major exhibit.

During 1966 the United States participated in all major ECAFE meetings to which it was invited. These included the plenary meeting at New Delhi, India, in March and the annual meetings of the standing committees on Trade, Industry and Natural Resources, and Inland Transport and Communications. Other meetings attended by the United States dealt with electric

power, small-scale industries, water resources, trade censuses and surveys, administrative problems of economic development, and urbanization.

Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA)

As a full member of ECLA, the United States participated in its two major meetings held in Santiago during 1966: the Latin American Symposium on Industrial Development in March and the Committee of the Whole in May. Plenary sessions of the full Commission are convened biennially, the last conference being held in 1965. Therefore, the Committee of the Whole meets in interim years to review briefly the secretariat's activities.

The Latin American Symposium on Industrial Development reviewed in detail the situation of industry on the continent. It also considered the question of developing a unified Latin American position for the International Symposium on Industrial Development (scheduled for December 1967 in Athens) and recommended that this question be considered at ECLA's plenary session in 1967. The secretariat organized two additional seminars in the industrial field toward the end of 1966: the Seminar on Small Scale Industry and the Seminar on Industrial Statistics. Both were held in Quito.

The main topics considered by the 1966 session of the Committee of the Whole were a review of economic trends in Latin America during the previous year, an evaluation of the progress achieved by the Central American Common Market in its economic integration efforts, and the continuation of the work of the Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning. The Committee recommended that governmental support for the Institute be increased and requested additional financial support from the UNDP and the Inter-American Development Bank.

ECLA has been a leader in working toward economic integration of the region and, in furthering this objective, it continues to prepare various studies and surveys as part of its regular program of activities. At the beginning of 1966, ECLA established a branch office in Montevideo whose functions include coordination and liaison between the secretariats of ECLA and the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA), and collaboration with delegations of LAFTA member countries in the examination of various technical problems relating to the integration process.

Economic Commission for Africa (ECA)

The United States continued during 1966 to give active support and encouragement to the various programs carried on by ECA. Although the United States is not a member of ECA, it maintains a full-time liaison officer in Addis Ababa, attends the more important ECA meetings as observer when invited, and provides some technical experts at ECA's request.

During 1966 ECA concentrated on promoting economic cooperation within the subregions of Africa. It convened major conferences in West Africa, Central Africa, and North Africa to discuss practical measures to further subregional cooperation. The previous year, in October, it had convened a similar conference of Eastern African governments at Lusaka, Zambia, where the decision was made to establish an Economic Community of Eastern Africa.

At the conference on West African Economic Cooperation held at Niamey, Niger, in October 1966, the

decision was made "in principle" to establish an Economic Community. At the conferences in North and Central Africa, the participating governments examined steps they might take to further cooperation. At the North African conference, held at Tangier in June, decisions were reached regarding cooperation in maritime transport and tourism and the Regional Office was instructed to make an inventory of the sectors where other activities of economic coordination were necessary and possible. At the Central African conference, held in Brazzaville, Congo, in April, the participants agreed that a ministerial committee would study further the matter of cooperation within that subregion.

The Commission intends to intensify its subregional efforts by increasing the number of its staff at the subregional offices in Kinshasa, Lusaka, Niamey, and Tangier.

At the Commission's seventh session in 1965, it had decided to hold meetings every 2 years instead of each year. Therefore, no annual Commission session was held in 1966. Also, all standing committees had been abolished and replaced by seven working parties, each to be composed of technicians from African countries serving as technical experts rather than representatives of their countries. In 1966, two of the working parties met: the Working Party on Manpower and the Working Party on Intra-African Trade. The latter met jointly with the OAU *ad hoc* Committee of Fourteen on Trade and Development to arrive at common African positions for UNCTAD sessions.

Although the other five working parties did not meet in 1966, ECA organized continent-wide conferences on topics that concern the five working parties. A conference of the governors of Central African banks met in Addis Ababa in February and agreed to form a continent-wide association to seek effective avenues of cooperation. A telecommunications conference was convened jointly with the OAU in Addis Ababa in March. The Symposium on Industrial Development, held in Cairo in January and February, reviewed Africa's industrial situation and made recommendations to accelerate its rate of industrial development.

ECA was originally set up by ECOSOC primarily as an advisory, study, and consultative body. A recurrent theme at ECA meetings, however, has been that the secretariat should concentrate on finding practical measures for regional economic cooperation. The United States has responded to these initiatives by reiterating its desire to cooperate with ECA-sponsored activities. In 1966 the United States provided technical experts in transport and aluminum. A U.S. team assisted in the preparation of an industrial integration study of West African countries. The United States also provided experts to help the ECA in preparing for a conference of industrialists and financiers scheduled for 1967.

As part of its on-going program, the ECA secretariat organized numerous training courses and seminars in statistics, public administration, and economic planning.

The United States sent observer delegates to the three conferences on economic cooperation in Central, North, and West Africa. The United States also participated in the African Symposium on Industrial Development and the Working Group on Censuses of Population and Housing which met in February and March to prepare for the 1970 censuses.

U.N. Development Program (UNDP)

ORGANIZATION

The UNDP came into being January 1, 1966, as the major source of financing for the U.N. technical as-

sistance operations. Its creation resulted, in large measure, from U.S. efforts in the United Nations since 1961 to bring about the merger of two technical cooperation programs: the Special Fund and the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance.

A 37-nation Governing Council establishes UNDP policies and approves its programs and operations. Because it is entrusted with the supervision of *all* U.N. technical cooperation activities, the Governing Council also reviews the program of technical assistance under the U.N. regular assessed budget. (Previously this responsibility had rested with the Technical Assistance Committee.)

The UNDP "secretariat," headed by an Administrator and a Co-Administrator, directs UNDP operations and processes government requests for assistance.

The 1965 General Assembly resolution that set up the UNDP also established an Inter-Agency Consultative Board (IACB) to provide consultative participation by the U.N. specialized agencies in UNDP decisions and policymaking.

The IACB is composed of the U.N. Secretary-General and the executive heads of the specialized agencies, the IAEA, the U.N. Children's Fund, the World Food Program, the U.N. Industrial Development Organization, and the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development.

ROLE OF THE U.N. RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE

The principal agent of the UNDP in the field is the U.N. Resident Representative, whose primary task is to advise his host government on priorities and planning. A government seeking UNDP assistance submits its requests through him. In addition, he coordinates UNDP activities with those of the various specialized agencies and with bilateral assistance programs. This task is complex and sometimes difficult. Ambassador James Roosevelt, the U.S. Representative at the Governing Council's second session in June 1966, called for intensified interagency cooperation in the field and stressed the role of the Resident Representative as "the eyes, ears, and the arm" of the UNDP Administrator in the field, and as an essential link between the host country and the UNDP. During the 41st session of the Economic and Social Council, later in the summer, many members joined the United States in emphasizing the importance of the Resident Representative.

In this context, the United States welcomed an October 1966 agreement between the UNDP and the FAO which made FAO's country representative a member of the Resident Representative's staff. The purpose of this arrangement is to achieve "a desirable degree of coordination and integration [of FAO] within the Office of the UNDP Resident Representative." This agreement marks an important first step in improving and formulating the coordination capabilities of the U.N. Resident Representative.

FINANCING

The UNDP is financed by voluntary contributions from member states. During 1966 pledges and contributions totaled $156.9 million. The United States pledged $65 million, subject to the condition that U.S. contributions should not exceed 40 percent of total governmental contributions. The U.S. pledge to the UNDP was apportioned as follows: $22.7 million for the technical assistance component, $40.3 million for the special fund component, and $2 million earmarked for special industrial services (see page 112). In addition, the U.S. share of the regular U.N. budget—which provided $6.4 million for technical assistance—was 31.91 percent.

The UNDP management is working toward a complete integration of the policies and procedures of its two

component programs, and during 1966 the Governing Council approved plans for gradual changes in the administrative organization. The United States has urged that this administrative integration be completed as soon as possible and has called for both closer financial relationships between the two programs and a more uniform presentation of them.

Currently, the two components follow different budgeting procedures: the technical assistance component approves programs for individual experts and fellowships on a biennial basis, while special fund-type projects are approved on a project-by-project basis with sufficient funds set aside to cover the total cost of the project from inception to completion.

The two UNDP programs differ in their character as well as their budgeting procedures. The former special fund component consists of large-scale preinvestment surveys and feasibility studies, while the technical assistance component concentrates on technical assistance projects, often of quite small size.

PREINVESTMENT

The special fund-type projects originate with specific requests from member governments submitted to the UNDP through the U.N. Resident Representative. The UNDP considers the project in consultation with the country, the specialized agency that will carry out the project, and the Resident Representative, and submits the final project request to the Governing Council for approval.

During 1966 the Governing Council approved 137 preinvestment projects raising the total number of such large-scale projects assisted by the UNDP to 657 by December 31, 1966. These projects call for UNDP earmarkings of $644.5 million and $920.8 million in counterpart contributions from the governments benefiting from this assistance.

More than 40 percent of these projects (282) involve surveys in natural resources and/or feasibility studies; 132 are for research in such fields as agriculture, manufacturing, mining, and power; 233 are for training in such fields as forestry, fisheries management, industry, education, public administration, and transport; and 10 are for economic development planning.

A total of 116 UNDP special fund-type projects had been completed by December 31, 1966. Thirty-one of these, which cost the UNDP $38.5 million, have had associated with them followup investment of $1.6 billion.

At the second session of the Governing Council the U.S. Representative stressed the U.S. interest in close cooperation between the UNDP and various sources of investment capital and noted that the increasing use of financial advisers attached to individual projects was a good step in that direction. He went on to point out the need for still more followup investment.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

UNDP technical assistance projects consist primarily of experts and/or training fellowships and are designed to expand the human technical resources of the developing countries.

The technical assistance program for the 1965–66 biennium (approved in November 1964) called for an estimated expenditure of $100.9 million. The major fields covered were assistance to governments in the formulation and implementation of development plans (19 percent), agricultural projects (17 percent), health services (16 percent), and education (15 percent). Other programs were in industrial production, auxiliary services to industry and agriculture, community development, other social services, and atomic energy.

This 2-year program provided for 6,257 expert assignments in the field. One special phase of this program sent 105 experts to work directly in

government offices of developing countries as administrative members of those governments. This "OPEX" program provides "operating executives" for fields in which developing countries have an insufficient number of trained personnel.

For the 1965–66 biennium the UNDP technical assistance program scheduled 8,060 training fellowships, primarily for advanced technical training abroad, but also for participation in seminars (often given on a regional basis) and work-study tours.

In November 1966 the Governing Council approved a technical assistance program for 1967–68 at a total cost of $110.7 million. Eighty-one percent of this will be for salaries and support for some 6,179 experts. In addition 8,773 training fellowships are planned. Twenty-five percent of the program funds will be for agricultural projects, and projects in education, public health, and industrial development will each receive approximately 15 percent.

QUESTION OF PRIORITIES

The question of assigning priorities for UNDP projects was discussed at the second session of the Governing Council. The U.S.S.R. and East European representatives urged that the UNDP assign special priority to the development of industry in the recipient countries, in particular by investing directly in industrial projects. Some other countries urged the UNDP to stress agriculture. However, along with the United States, most countries—developing and developed—stressed that the choice of priorities and the initiative for requesting assistance were, and remained, the responsibility of the recipient government alone. The main consideration was that UNDP assistance should be consonant with national development plans and the stated needs of the developing countries.

U.N. REGULAR PROGRAM

The 1966 program of technical assistance under the regular U.N. budget was $6.4 million. Of this sum $3.4 million was earmarked for country programs and $3 million for regional and interregional programs. For this program, as with UNDP projects, a country's requests for project assistance are considered to be in accord with its own development priorities.

The 1966 allocation for regular program projects in economic development, social development, and public administration amounted to $6.1 million. It included such projects as child welfare training for Colombia, taxation and finance studies for Laos, and a sugar industry study for Bolivia. Reflecting increased U.N. interest in industrial development, the portion of this $6.1 million devoted to industrial projects rose from $807,500 in 1965 to $1,054,000 in 1966. $220,000 was allocated for human rights advisory services (see page 152), and $75,000 for narcotic drug control programs, such as the seminar for narcotics control enforcement officers held in Iran in April, and fellowships in enforcement, addict rehabilitation, and narcotics control.

In June 1966 the Governing Council recommended a budget of $6.4 million for the 1967 regular program, and the same level for planning the 1968 program.

U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)

In 1966 the UNCTAD machinery—consisting principally of a 55-member Trade and Development Board, the Board's four subsidiary committees (on commodities, on manufactures, on shipping, and on

invisibles and financing related to trade), and a permanent secretariat in Geneva—emerged from the organizational stage and began to come to grips with the substance of the developing countries' trade and development problems and possible ways of coping with them. The United States is a member of the Board as well as of each of the Board's subsidiary committees.

THIRD SESSION OF TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT BOARD

The third session of the Trade and Development Board, held in New York January 25–February 17, considered the progress made in implementing the recommendations of the first Conference in 1964. There was a consensus that UNCTAD's main task was to insure that the work underway and some of the studies undertaken would be completed in time for some results to materialize by the time of the Second Conference, scheduled for New Delhi, February 1–March 25, 1968. The Board considered such substantive matters as the reports of three subsidiary committees, the problems arising in trade relationships between countries having different economic and social systems, steps to be taken to achieve agreement on principles governing international trade relations and trade policies conducive to development, prospects for an international agreement on cocoa, and means by which the rate of development of the developing countries and the capital flows to them might be increased.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS

All of the major UNCTAD committees except the Committee on Commodities met during the year. The United States participated in each meeting. In early March the Committee on Manufactures considered some of the problems involved in the expansion, diversification, and promotion of exports of manufactures and semimanufactures from the developing countries. Although there were differences of opinion on the extent of, and prospects for, the reduction of industrialized countries' tariff and nontariff barriers affecting developing countries' manufactures, there was agreement on the importance of sector studies on ways to expand developing countries' exports. One such study on forest and timber products was begun in 1966 by a joint UNCTAD/FAO working party.

In April the Committee on Invisibles and Financing Related to Trade met to continue its consideration of a World Bank staff study outlining a scheme for supplementary financing to help developing countries cover unexpected shortfalls in export earnings that result in insufficient resources to carry out sound development programs. The Committee decided to establish a small intergovernmental group for the further consideration of the Bank staff's study as well as other supplementary financing proposals. (This group held its first meeting in October.)

Also in April, a group of experts appointed by the Secretary General of UNCTAD, pursuant to a decision of the Committee, met to consider further a proposal to subsidize on a multilateral basis interest paid on funds borrowed in the capital markets of developed countries and to be loaned to developing countries on soft terms. The group issued a report in May. A majority of the group felt that at present this proposal did not offer a suitable alternative to government grants and loans to the International Development Association as the major source of multilaterally channeled soft loans to developing countries.

Another group of experts appointed by the Secretary General of UNCTAD met in June and July to consider payments arrangements among developing countries. The report of this group, issued in August,

indicated that payments arrangements among developing countries, especially of the reserve fund type, constituted one way of meeting payments problems arising from trade liberalization.

The Committee on Shipping held a special session in July to consider a report prepared by the UNCTAD secretariat on the approach and methods to be used in studies of "The Level and Structure of Freight Rates, Conference Practices and Adequacy of Shipping Services." The Committee agreed on most of the areas of proposed study without difficulty, but the question of "route" studies was included in the work program only after prolonged debate.

The Group on Preferences, a subcommittee of the Committee on Manufactures, held its first session in July and considered certain issues on which decisions would have to be taken if future agreement were to be reached on the need for trade preferences for the manufactures and semimanufactures of the developing countries. Among the issues discussed—hypothetically and without prejudice to the position of participating governments—were product coverage, preferential margins, grantors and recipients of preferences, safeguards, and existing preferences.

Although the Committee on Commodities did not meet in 1966, its permanent subcommittee on commodities convened in late June to review overall trends in commodity trade as well as the market situation in selected commodities, and to consider certain policy studies. In addition a new Advisory Committee, consisting of seven experts on different aspects of commodity problems, met for the first time in September to review the draft documentation on commodity problems being prepared for the Second Conference. UNCTAD also sponsored during the year a series of meetings on both cocoa and sugar (see page 109).

FOURTH SESSION OF TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT BOARD

The fourth session of the Trade and Development Board was held at Geneva August 30–September 23. The Secretary General's review of the implementation of the recommendations of the First Conference stimulated extended discussion. The developing countries generally contended that the industrialized countries were not doing enough to assist them in expanding their exports and otherwise accelerating their economic growth. The industrialized countries suggested that an accurate appraisal of developments since the First Conference should include a balanced record of both favorable and unfavorable aspects. At the same time they agreed that no one could be satisfied with the present situation. The United States noted the improved market access—especially in the United States—for the developing countries' products, the increase in the volume of aid supplied to the developing countries in 1965, and U.S. plans to place increased emphasis on aid in the agricultural sector.

The remainder of the Trade and Development Board's fourth session was devoted primarily to a discussion of plans for the Second Conference. Many emphasized that the Second Conference should result in concrete achievements; therefore, UNCTAD bodies should now concentrate on those matters which might be ripe for action by the time of the Second Conference.

The Board approved a comprehensive draft provisional agenda for the Second Conference which included the following items: trends and problems in world trade and development; commodity problems and policies; expansion and diversification of export of manufactures and semimanufactures of developing countries; synchronization of international and national policies on growth, development finance, and aid; problems of developing countries in regard to

invisibles, including shipping; trade expansion and economic integration among developing countries—including regional, subregional and interregional arrangements; and special measures to be taken in favor of the least developed among the developing countries in order to expand their trade and improve their economic and social development. The Board decided to forward the draft provisional agenda to all states members of UNCTAD, to the subsidiary bodies of the Board, and to the U.N. regional commissions and the U.N. Economic and Social Office in Beirut for any comments, observations, and recommendations that they might wish to submit to the fifth session of the Board (August–September 1967).

The Board also approved a resolution requesting the Secretary General of UNCTAD to transmit, for the consideration of the regional economic commissions and certain other economic and financial institutions, the report of an UNCTAD-appointed expert committee on "Trade Expansion and Economic Cooperation among Developing Countries" and the UNCTAD secretariat's report on "Trade Expansion and Economic Integration among Developing Countries." It further decided that this subject should be discussed at the next session of the Board. It approved a resolution recommending that the U.N. Secretary-General and UNDP insure that the services available in UNCTAD are utilized in providing substantive support for technical assistance to developing countries in the fields of export promotion and invisibles, including shipping, insurance, and tourism. The Board also agreed on a reduction in the length and number of meetings for 1967.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

In its resolution deciding on the date and place of the Second Conference, the 21st General Assembly called on the Trade and Development Board and its subsidiary bodies "to attempt to identify the issues on which preparatory work will have progressed sufficiently to enable specific programmes of action to be drawn up at the second session of the Conference by means of negotiation aimed at securing the greatest possible measure of agreement." It was the understanding of the Assembly's Second Committee that the word "negotiation" in this resolution was used without prejudice to any decision the Trade and Development Board may take at its fifth session on the nature of the Second Conference in the light of the provisional agenda finally agreed upon. In other resolutions relating to UNCTAD, the General Assembly again urged UNCTAD member governments to make maximum progress toward implementing the recommendations of the first session of the Conference "relating to matters in which progress can be expected before the second session," such as conclusion of commodity arrangements and the possible adoption of tariff preferences for the developing countries' exports of manufactures.

In a separate resolution on cocoa the General Assembly deplored the breakdown of the recent cocoa consultations and, in requesting an early resumption of consultations, called particularly on consuming nations to do their utmost to arrive at an agreement on all outstanding matters. Since the latter provision seemed to place responsibility for further progress on the consuming countries alone, the United States abstained. All other countries voted for the resolution.

In another resolution the General Assembly endorsed the need for both developed and developing countries which so desire to be represented in preparations for any new international monetary reform arrangements. It requested the Secretary General of UNCTAD to consult with the International Monetary Fund

Managing Director on the progress of reform and to report to the fifth session of the Trade and Development Board. Except for the one on cocoa, all of these resolutions were adopted either unanimously or without objection.

COMMODITY TRADE

The long-established U.N. responsibilities for sponsoring studies and action on commodity problems have been broadened and given new impetus and direction as a result of the establishment of UNCTAD. The developing countries, with whose problems UNCTAD is chiefly concerned, remain heavily dependent on exports of primary products for their foreign exchange earnings. In consequence, the organization has given major attention to the search for new and more effective measures to improve conditions of world commodity markets on a basis benefiting the developing countries concerned. During 1966 attention concentrated on cocoa and sugar, products for which market stabilization agreements are technically feasible and are, in the view of most governments, desirable as a means of stabilizing the receipts of developing countries exporting these products.

The Secretary General of UNCTAD, in consultation with the Executive Secretary of the International Sugar Council, established a Consultative Committee of exporting and importing countries to study the technical and policy issues involved in a new stabilization agreement to replace the existing International Sugar Agreement, whose economic provisions are no longer in force. This was done at the request of the unsuccessful 1965 U.N. Sugar Conference which asked the Secretary General of UNCTAD to arrange further consultations and to convene a second session of the negotiating conference as soon as a successful outcome seemed in prospect. After the Consultative Committee's first meeting in March 1966, the Secretary General of UNCTAD concluded that it would be premature to schedule another negotiating conference, but that consultations should continue. At a subsequent meeting in May, the Consultative Committee established a Preparatory Working Group to examine and report on the points to be included in a comprehensive long-term sugar agreement and, at its discretion, to outline a possible interim arrangement. This Group held a series of meetings during the remainder of the year, and some progress was made toward narrowing differences on technical questions.

A negotiating conference on cocoa was held in May and June 1966, after two preparatory meetings earlier in the year. The conference made substantial progress toward identifying the elements to be included in a cocoa agreement, but basic issues of price and buffer stock arrangements could not be resolved. Upon adjourning, the conference requested the Secretary General of UNCTAD to consult with interested governments and convene further intergovernmental meetings with a view to reconvening the conference later in the year.

In addition, there were meetings during the year of the U.N. Committee on Tungsten and of the International Lead and Zinc Study Group, an organization that is autonomous but is serviced by the UNCTAD secretariat and historically linked to the United Nations. The basic activities of these groups include the collection of statistics; regular intergovernmental survey of the supply-demand situation and outlook; and exchange of views on current problems affecting production, consumption, and trade.

The FAO Committee on Commodity Problems sponsors similar specialized groups on particular agricultural products. During 1966 a Study Group on Hard Fibers and a Study Group on Oilseeds, Oils, and Fats (which replaces an earlier

group concerned with coconut products alone) held their first sessions. There were also meetings on citrus fruit; jute, kenaf and allied fibers; and rice.

Other such groups concerned with tin, coffee, sugar, wheat, olive oil, rubber, cotton, and wool were active during the year. These groups operate outside the U.N. framework but have agreed to submit voluntary reports to the UNCTAD Committee on Commodities and otherwise to cooperate with this committee, in order to facilitate its overall review of developments in commodity trade and its consideration of broad policy questions.

The United States participated actively in most of the above meetings except those of the councils administering the International Tin Agreement and the International Olive Oil Agreement, arrangements to which the United States is not a party. The U.S. support for intergovernmental efforts to improve conditions of commodity trade derives both from the need to protect our own trade interests, as a major importer and exporter of primary commodities, and from our concern for the impact of commodity trade problems on the export earnings and economic progress of the developing countries.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) is the principal instrument through which the United States works with other nations to reduce barriers to trade throughout most of the world. It is essentially a reciprocal trade agreement whose mutual rights and obligations apply to all of the contracting parties. The GATT is not a U.N. body, but the work in the trade field undertaken within the United Nations is closely related to that of the GATT.

One of the United States most important activities in the GATT has been its participation in the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations in Geneva. This was the most ambitious effort for trade liberalization ever undertaken and represented the first attempt to negotiate a relaxation of all types of obstructions to freer trade—both tariff and nontariff barriers—in both industrial and agricultural products.

The pace of the Kennedy Round negotiations accelerated rapidly in 1966. By September all outstanding agricultural offers had been tabled. In November most of the major participants exchanged lists of requests and possible withdrawals to insure reciprocity in preparation for the final balancing phase to begin early in 1967. Although there were still important problems to be resolved in the fields of agriculture and specific sectors (e.g., chemicals, steel, textiles), there was ground for optimism that a substantial reduction in trade barriers would be achieved.

The GATT provides that contracting parties cannot impose quantitative import restrictions unless they are justified under special circumstances—chiefly related to balance-of-payments difficulties and economic development problems—spelled out in the general agreement. While there are few remaining restrictions on industrial imports into developed countries, the agricultural sector has proved more difficult to liberalize. Consultation procedures provided under the GATT have enabled the United States to press for the liberalization of a number of products of interest to this country. For example, consultation with Norway in 1966 resulted in the removal of import quota controls from a number of agricultural items at the beginning of 1967, including canned fruit products and certain processed vegetables. Continuing consultations with France, under-

way since 1962, have resulted in further liberalization of agricultural items under quantitative controls and the freeing of some industrial items as well. Periodic consultations with countries maintaining restrictions for balance-of-payments purposes, in which the United States has played a leading role, have also resulted in the removal or liberalization of import quotas by these countries. Yugoslavia, which became a full contracting party to the GATT during 1966, planned a bold and promising program of trade liberalization to begin January 1, 1967, which would include a number of industrial products.

Increasing emphasis is being given to the trade problems of the less developed contracting parties within the GATT program. The Protocol amending the general agreement to introduce Part IV on Trade and Development had been ratified by two-thirds of the contracting parties by June 27, 1966, bringing the new articles into force on that date. The Committee on Trade and Development, established to implement the provisions of Part IV, has been active in drawing the attention of the contracting parties to areas where action might be taken to improve the export potential of the developing countries. Special study groups have concerned themselves with such topics as the removal of quantitative restrictions on the products of interest to the developing nations; the identification of such products; the expansion of trade among less developed countries; adjustment assistance measures to facilitate the reduction of trade barriers to exports from the developing countries; proposed amendments to the general agreement; the possibilities for preferential access to the markets of industrial countries; and the examination of problems in international trade in primary commodities.

Another indication of the growing concern of the GATT with the needs of the developing countries is the rapid expansion of the activities of the International Trade Center in Geneva, established to assist these countries in promoting their exports. The Center's programs include a market information service, technical assistance in trade promotion, a publications program, and assistance in arranging for training in export promotion for officials from the less developed countries.

Industrial Development

U.N. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION (UNIDO)

In 1965 the 20th General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution establishing a U.N. Organization for Industrial Development and calling for a 36-member *Ad Hoc* Committee "to prepare the necessary operating procedures and administrative arrangements." The United States participated actively in the deliberations of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, which met from March 28 to May 2, 1966, and achieved most of its objectives. The Committee's report was subsequently considered and noted by the U.N. Committee for Industrial Development and its parent body, the Economic and Social Council.

On November 17, 1966, the General Assembly unanimously approved, with minor changes, a resolution drafted by the *Ad Hoc* Committee and changed the name of the organization to U.N. Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO). The resolution set forth operating procedures, functions, and administrative arrangements for UNIDO. With the adoption of the resolution, UNIDO would, on January 1, 1967, assume responsibility from the U.N. Center for Industrial Development for activities in the field of industrialization. The position of U.N. Commissioner for Industrial Development was also abolished, to be replaced on January 1 by that of the Executive Director

of the Industrial Development Board of UNIDO.

An autonomous body within the United Nations, UNIDO is intended to promote industrial development and accelerate the industrialization of developing countries. Its administrative and research expenses will be met from the regular U.N. budget; its operational activities will be financed by voluntary contributions, primarily through participation in the U.N. Development Program, and through the U.N. regular program of technical assistance.

In the *Ad Hoc* Committee and elsewhere, the United States made clear that it hoped UNIDO would concentrate on operational activities rather than on research. The United States also stated its hope that the UNDP would be the major source of UNIDO operational funds and said that any U.S. contributions to UNIDO for operational activities would be made through the UNDP.

In making its pledge for 1967 to the UNDP, the United States reserved the right to set aside at a later date up to $2 million for a trust fund jointly administered by the UNDP and UNIDO for a program of "special industrial services" to be provided by UNIDO. A similar amount for the provision of these services by the U.N. Center for Industrial Development, UNIDO's predecessor organization, was included in the U.S. pledge for 1966 to the UNDP.

Following approval of the UNIDO resolution, the General Assembly elected the following countries to UNIDO's 45-member Industrial Development Board: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Jordan, Kuwait, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Romania, Rwanda, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, U.S.S.R., United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, and Zambia. The U.N. Commissioner for Industrial Development, Ibrahim Helmi Abdel-Rahman of the United Arab Republic, was named Executive Director of UNIDO. Vienna was chosen as UNIDO's headquarters seat.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

Pending the establishment of UNIDO, the U.N. Center for Industrial Development, in conjunction with the U.N. regional economic commissions, continued its preparatory work begun in 1965 for an International Symposium on Industrial Development, which the Economic and Social Council decided in late 1966 would be held in Athens during December 1967. During 1966 regional symposia were held in Africa, January 27–February 10, and in Latin America, March 14–25. In addition, a Symposium for Arab States of the Middle East, called at the initiative of the Government of Kuwait, was held in Kuwait, March 1–10. These symposia dealt with regional industrialization problems.

The sixth and last session of the U.N. Committee for Industrial Development was held in New York, April 26–May 13, 1966. The Committee reviewed the work of the U.N. Center for Industrial Development pending activation of UNIDO. The Committee also approved a resolution, later adopted by the Economic and Social Council, reaffirming the 1967 target date for the International Symposium on Industrial Development and containing a proposed agenda and provisional rules of procedure for the symposium. Another resolution approved by the Committee and adopted by the Economic and Social Council provided for improvement of the Center's consolidated annual report of all activities of the U.N. system in the field of industrial development.

U.N. Capital Development Fund

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

On December 13, 1966, the General Assembly adopted a resolution establishing a U.N. Capital Development Fund empowered to make grants and loans to developing countries. The Fund's operational resources are to come from voluntary contributions made at an annual pledging conference, but its administrative expenses are to be met from the regular assessed budget of the United Nations. The resolution establishing the Fund was supported by most developing countries and was adopted by a vote of 76 to 19, with 14 abstentions. Almost all industrialized countries, including most Communist countries, either opposed the resolution or abstained.

In voting against the resolution, the United States maintained its longstanding objection to the creation of a U.N. Capital Development Fund. Ambassador James Roosevelt explained the United States position, stating: "In our view, there are adequate institutions, public and private, universal and regional, for meeting the capital needs of the developing countries. . . . Moreover, in the case of private capital, it may be that recipient countries are not taking adequate action to attract it."

As the largest contributor to the regular assessed budget of the United Nations, the United States found particularly objectionable the addition to that budget of an assessment for the administration of the Fund. The Managing Director of the Fund, to be appointed by the U.N. Secretary-General, is expected to assume office on January 1, 1968, and the U.N. Secretariat estimates that initial staff and related expenses will amount to $335,000 during 1968. The United States and other major potential contributors indicated they would not contribute to the resources of the Fund. Therefore the Fund's Managing Director may well preside over an expensive, empty shell, if the Assembly's decision is put into effect. A formal U.S. motion to have the provision for the payment of the Fund's administrative expenses out of the U.N. regular budget considered an important question was defeated by the developing countries by a vote of 35 (U.S.) to 71, with 7 abstentions. Approval of the motion would have required that the provision be accepted by a two-thirds majority. Virtually all industrialized countries, including Communist countries, supported the motion.

RELATED EFFORTS

In June the second session of the Governing Council of the UNDP considered—at the request of the General Assembly and pursuant to a recommendation of the final act of the UNCTAD—ways and means of gradually transforming the UNDP into a capital development fund which would engage in investment proper as well as preinvestment assistance. The United States has long opposed such transformation, pointing out that capital financing on soft terms is being undertaken by the International Development Association with resources far beyond those the UNDP could reasonably hope to obtain for such purposes, and arguing that the UNDP can render its greatest service by concentrating its limited resources on preinvestment. At the second session of the UNDP Governing Council, Japan, Canada, and most West European countries joined the United States in opposing transformation of the UNDP into a capital development fund, stressing the insufficiency of UNDP resources to meet the ever-growing preinvestment needs of the developing countries. With most developing and Communist countries on the Council continu-

ing to advocate use of UNDP resources for investment proper, no agreement could be reached, and the Council decided to reexamine the question at its next regular session in January 1967.

Population

The most important development during 1966 with respect to population problems was the unanimous adoption by the 21st General Assembly on December 17 of a resolution which recognized "the sovereignty of nations in formulating and promoting their own population policies, with due regard to the principle that the size of the family should be the free choice of each individual family." The Assembly went on to call on U.N. bodies and the specialized agencies concerned:

> . . . to assist, when requested, in further developing and strengthening national and regional facilities for training, research, information and advisory services in the field of population, bearing in mind the different character of population problems in each country and region and the needs arising therefrom.

Shortly before the Assembly's consideration of population questions, Secretary-General Thant issued a statement relating to a "declaration on population growth and human dignity and welfare," signed by the Heads of State of Colombia, Finland, India, Malaysia, Morocco, Nepal, the Republic of Korea, Singapore, Sweden, Tunisia, the United Arab Republic, and Yugoslavia, which was circulated in connection with Human Rights Day. The Secretary-General said:

> . . . I take this occasion to emphasize that population growth is not only an important factor in the rate at which nations can attain their economic goals, but that the size of the family is a fundamental human problem which must be based on the decisions of responsible parents concerned with the dignity and well-being of their children.
>
> In my view, we must accord the right of parents to determine the numbers of their children a place of importance at this moment in man's history.

As a consequence of the increasing attention being given by the United Nations to population problems, the Population Branch of the U.N. Department of Economic and Social Affairs was elevated on February 1, 1966, to a Division. It will (1) provide secretariat and documentation service for the Population Commission, the Economic and Social Council, and the General Assembly in connection with their consideration of population questions; (2) prepare population projections and analyses of population trends; (3) prepare demographic studies and reports; (4) undertake research and technical work on fertility, the organization and evaluation of family planning programs, and communication and motivation; (5) provide services for international conferences, seminars, and meetings of experts on population; (6) initiate and assist, in cooperation with the secretariats of regional commissions, in the establishment of regional centers for demographic training and research, and in the development of their programs; (7) provide advisory services to governments in all fields of population insofar as staff resources allow; (8) review and evaluate UNDP and technical cooperation projects in these fields; and (9) work with the specialized agencies and nongovernmental bodies concerned to insure implementation of the long-range program of work and priorities established by the Economic and Social Council.

In February 1966 the United Nations published a report, "India's Family Planning Program," prepared at the request of India by a five-man advisory mission which visited India during 1965. The report covered such topics as the organization and administration of India's family planning program, family planning techniques, supplies and services, training, public education, incentives, and social pol-

icies to promote family planning. It concluded that it would be possible to reduce the birth rate by about one-third in 10 years. If this target were reached, India's rate of population growth would decline from 2.4 percent in 1965 to 1.6 percent by 1975 and to less than 1.0 percent before 1985.

In March 1966 a working group on Administrative Aspects of Family Planning Programs met in Bangkok to develop new ideas, share recent experience, and set up channels for further communication throughout the ECAFE region. This group, organized by ECAFE and the UNDP in cooperation with the Population Council of New York, was the first to meet under ECAFE auspices to discuss action programs in the field of population.

The group's discussions, published by the United Nations as the first in a series of Asian Population Studies, covered family planning programs in the ECAFE region; setting targets for the programs; administrative requirements; budget and timetable; cooperation and support of governmental and voluntary agencies—for example, in the printing of health and education material and in the use of radio and television; evaluation; and the dissemination of knowledge and experience.

An *Ad Hoc* Committee of Experts on Programs in Fertility was convened by the Secretary-General in New York in September 1966. It issued a report making recommendations to the Secretary-General for a long-range program of research and technical work throughout the U.N. system in the area of fertility, as well as presenting a detailed plan for an intermediate-range program. The experts pointed out that many factors—biological, demographic, social, economic, and psychological—affected reproduction and that the work program in fertility should be broad and "encompass not only factors affecting fertility, but control practices, attitudes, motivations and opinions of individuals, and government policies and programs as well."

The U.N. Population Commission did not meet during 1966. The report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee will be submitted to the Commission at its session scheduled for Geneva in October–November 1967.

For other U.N. activities with reference to population see sections on United Nations Children's Fund (page 133), Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (page 150), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (page 167), and World Health Organization (page 172).

Statistical Activities

Through its representation on the U.N. Statistical Commission, and its participation in U.N. regional statistical conferences and other international bodies, the United States has worked to develop comparable economic and social statistics among nations. The major U.S. emphasis has been on practical ways to improve international understanding of needs and to provide objective guidance in filling the needs for economic and social development. The United States has also sought to improve coordination, avoid duplication of effort within the United Nations and the specialized agencies, and eliminate unnecessary collection or publication of data.

Major advances have been made and the availability of comparable, valid, and relevant international statistics has significantly increased over the last two decades.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE STATISTICS

Efforts to improve the coordination of statistical activities led to the establishment of the International Trade Statistics Center within the U.N.

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Statistical Office. This Center is designed to service the needs of international organizations generally for world trade statistics. Thus the overlapping and duplication in reporting of such data by national governments to international organizations can be reduced or eliminated, and the needs of users can be served more efficiently and economically.

By the end of 1966 the Center was virtually in full operation, and detailed statistics on imports and exports regularly reported by about a hundred different countries and territories are contained in its "data bank." Most countries report data in "machine readable" form (i.e., on punched cards or magnetic tape), so that necessary processing can be done by electronic computer. The processing involves automatic conversion of value figures to U.S. dollars, quantity figures to metric units, and commodity codes to the Standard International Trade Classification. The data are made available in regular U.N. publications and in the *World Trade Annual* that is printed and distributed without cost to the United Nations by a commercial publisher in New York. The United Nations also provides special tabulations of the data on a cost-reimbursable basis to government agencies and other users.

At its 14th session, held in October 1966, the U.N. Statistical Commission commended the U.N. Statistical Office for its progress toward realizing the objectives of the Center and recommended further steps for improving its operations. The Commission also focused on other areas of international statistics in which improved coordination is needed and made concrete recommendations concerning them, including one for the establishment of a continuing Coordinating Committee on Statistical Activities under the auspices of the ACC.

WORLD CENSUS PROGRAM

The 1970 World Population and Housing Census program, for which preparations are well underway, will be the third major effort, through the United Nations, to promote comprehensive and coordinated population censuses on as nearly a worldwide basis as possible. The experience gained in the first two World Census programs has been taken into account in the "Principles and Recommendations" for the 1970 census, approved by the U.N. Statistical Commission at its 14th session.

It is anticipated that the 1970 World Census program will be more comprehensive in scope and coverage and will provide more and better data for a larger number of countries than ever before. In its consideration of the recommendations for the 1970 World Census program, the Statistical Commission stressed the importance of providing all possible assistance to governments in the implementation of the recommendations.

NATIONAL ACCOUNTS

Substantial progress was made during 1966 in improving the adequacy and comparability of international statistics of national accounts. Estimates of national income, gross national product, and related aggregates were published for 94 countries and territories in the latest issue (1965) of the U.N. *Yearbook of National Accounts Statistics*. This compares with 70 countries in the first issue of the publication in 1957. Moreover, the data now available generally conform more closely than before to the concepts and definitions recommended in the U.N. System of National Accounts (SNA). The U.S.S.R. and other Eastern European countries, however, use different systems of national accounts conforming to the so-called "Material Product System" (MPS).

The United States has initiated and supported efforts within the United Nations to improve the quality and coverage of national accounts statistics, and has been especially active in

seeking to achieve greater comparability between estimates of countries using the SNA and those using the MPS. The Statistical Commission, at its 14th session, noted that the proposed modifications of the SNA would furnish the basis for a system that can provide appropriate guidance in the development of national accounting and statistical systems and of international programs of reporting comparable data. At the same time, the changes would result in substantial extension of the common ground between the SNA and the MPS and thus facilitate comparison of related aggregates compiled according to the two systems.

Social Cooperation

The term "social development" covers a broad spectrum of activities in health and nutrition, labor standards, education, vocational training, housing and urban development, and social welfare. The division of work within the United Nations places responsibility for the initiation and development of overall social development policy and programs in the Commission for Social Development (formerly called the Social Commission), whose work is reviewed by the Economic and Social Council and in most aspects by the Third (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) Committee of the General Assembly. Programs in this area are carried out by a number of other U.N. organs: such specialized agencies as the World Health Organization, the International Labor Organization, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; and such special bodies as the United Nations Children's Fund and the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees. Specific aspects of social policy are the concern of the Population Commission, the Human Rights Commission, the Commission on the Status of Women, the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, and the Committee on Housing, Building and Planning. In addition, three of the regional economic commissions (ECA, ECAFE, and ECLA) are concerned with social as well as economic development in their regions.

The United States is a member of all of these bodies except ECA, and it continued during 1966 to maintain a role of leadership in speeding up development by initiating and supporting U.N. social programs which contribute to this total development process.

Social Development and Planning

The Social Commission held its 17th session at U.N. Headquarters from April 19 to May 4. Its work was reviewed by the Economic and Social Council at its 41st session in July 1966. Subsequently, the Third Committee of the 21st General Assembly also considered certain aspects of social planning.

REAPPRAISAL OF THE ROLE OF THE SOCIAL COMMISSION

The major item on the agenda of the 17th session of the Social Commission was a reappraisal of its role. This reappraisal resulted from an initiative taken at the Commission's

previous session by Tunisia, Mali, and Mauritania.

The United States had both substantive and organizational goals for the reappraisal. Substantively, we wanted the Commission to approve the general objectives outlined in the Secretary-General's report on this subject with the addition of a statement on population policy and on the importance of protecting and strengthening family life. The U.S. Representative, the Honorable Marjorie McKenzie Lawson, expressed the belief that "the goals as stated [by the Secretary-General] will undoubtedly find wide support. These deal with the basic needs of all people for food, health, education, employment and shelter." She continued,

> In the current statement of objectives, however, we miss an emphasis on protection of family life, which we consider a central theme and a basic goal in all social development. We would like to propose consideration of an objective that states forthrightly the need for a philosophy and program for strengthening and improving the quality of family life with recognition that in all societies the family group constitutes the primary source of social support. As part of this approach, attention should be given to encouragement of a population policy consistent with the economic, social, religious and cultural circumstances of the country to permit freedom of choice to individual families in accordance with their moral values and social goals and to encourage a rate of population growth consistent with the country's goals for a higher standard of living for its people.

In terms of organization the United States wanted to reorganize the Social Commission, either (1) transforming it into a social welfare commission with the responsibility for overall policy and coordination transferred to ECOSOC; or, if this proposal were not supported, (2) making it a commission on social development to perform overall policy and coordination functions, with an expert committee of about 18 members established to deal with social welfare problems.

The U.S. delegation was successful in that the final resolution included the major points of our position on objectives and work program.

The United States also achieved part of its objectives with respect to reorganization, despite efforts of the Soviet Representative to have the Commission confine itself to considering objectives and work program. After informal negotiation and several compromises, unanimous agreement was reached to change the name of the Social Commission to the Commission for Social Development and to emphasize "its role as a preparatory body of the Council in the whole range of social development policy." It was further decided "that the Commission for Social Development shall advise the Council also on vital social problems in respect of which action or recommendations may be required either by the Council itself or by the General Assembly." The Commission did not, however, come to a decision on the establishment of a subcommittee on social welfare.

In the course of the debate many specific changes were suggested to improve the Commission's work methods. These included a reduction in the number of resolutions adopted on different subjects, giving priority to designated items during certain sessions of the Commission, and improvement in the quality of membership by urging governments to appoint as their representatives people "who hold key positions in the planning or execution of national social development policies or other persons qualified to discuss the formulation of social policies in more than one sector of development."

In summary, as a result of the reappraisal, the renamed Commission for Social Development will give increased attention to questions of broad social policy and to technical cooperation programs in the field of social development. The reformulated objectives of social development are essentially a redraft of the objectives adopted by ECOSOC in 1953. Both are couched in general terms

and give priority to the programs generally recognized as most important in national development; that is, improvements in nutrition, health, education, employment, housing, and social welfare. The resolution embodying the objectives was adopted unanimously by the Commission and subsequently approved unanimously by the Economic and Social Council.

REPORT ON THE WORLD SOCIAL SITUATION

Commenting on the report, "Motivation for Development and Popular Participation," prepared by the U.N. Bureau of Social Affairs, the U.S. Representative spoke of the American experience with antipoverty programs and described U.S. efforts to assure a wider participation of disadvantaged groups in the development of policy and programs affecting their well-being. The Commission did not propose any resolution on the report but agreed that its conclusions and recommendations be included in the Commission's report to the Council.

RESEARCH TRAINING PROGRAM IN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

As the result of a U.S. initiative at the 1965 session, the Secretary-General prepared and submitted to the Social Commission a report containing a draft practical action "Research Training Program in Regional Development." The next step, as envisaged in the report, would be the establishment of preparatory teams to visit countries interested in participating in the program. These included, initially, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and the United Arab Republic. The Commission approved unanimously a resolution, cosponsored by Denmark, the United Arab Republic, and the United States, which requested the Secretary-General to arrange for consultations with interested countries and to proceed with other aspects of the work.

There was further discussion of the program at ECOSOC during July. By then the number of interested countries had grown to 10 with the addition of Israel and Venezuela. The Commission's resolution on the program was adopted by a vote of 25 to 0, with 1 abstention (U.K.), in the Social Committee, and unanimously in plenary.

RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The Commission considered the second Progress Report of the U.N. Research Institute for Social Development. Many countries commended the Institute's work and noted with approval the increasing cooperation between the Institute and other parts of the United Nations. The U.S. Representative warmly supported the work of the Institute, stressing particularly that it was well fitted to act as the coordination center for the Research Training Program in Regional Development.

A resolution, submitted by Denmark, Tunisia, and the United Arab Republic, commending the work of the Institute and requesting the Secretary-General, in cooperation with the Board of the Institute, to seek additional financial support for the Institute was adopted by a vote of 15 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 abstentions (Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cuba, Czechoslovakia, U. S. S. R.). The Commission also elected five members to the Board of the Institute, including an American citizen, Philip Hauser, of the University of Chicago.

During the 41st ECOSOC Ambassador James Roosevelt announced that the United States would contribute the equivalent of $885,000 to the Institute over a 3-year period provided this sum would not exceed 40 percent of the total accumulated contributions by governments since the Institute's beginning.

CONFERENCE OF MINISTERS RESPONSIBLE FOR SOCIAL WELFARE

Of the 57 governments replying to the Secretary-General's inquiry, 52 gave their unqualified support to a conference in 1968 of ministers responsible for social welfare. Some, including the United States, spoke of the increasing importance of social welfare in national planning. Others, who had earlier opposed the proposal for a conference—France, Mali, and Mauritania—indicated their willingness to go along in view of the wide support for it. The Soviet Representative stated that although her government had not originally been interested in the conference, it would now support the proposal.

A draft resolution, cosponsored by Denmark, Uganda, and the United States, requested the Secretary-General to proceed with plans for convening the conference in July 1968, decided that the conference would be devoted to the role of social welfare in national development programs, authorized the Secretary-General to establish a preparatory committee of experts to advise on matters relating to the conference, and outlined the conditions for participation as a basis for invitations to the conference.

Cuba proposed an amendment to have "all states" invited to the conference but it was defeated by a vote of 13 (U.S.) to 8. The resolution was then adopted unanimously by the Social Commission and later approved unanimously by ECOSOC.

DECLARATION ON SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

At its 20th session the General Assembly had decided to consider at its next session the possibility and advisability of preparing a declaration on social development. At the 21st General Assembly the United States opposed the preparation of such a declaration on the ground that the General Assembly and other U.N. bodies have already adopted adequate statements of principle to guide their work in this field. In the U.S. view the need was not for redraft of principles but for practical action and research to implement already agreed-upon principles. Our efforts to persuade other delegations were not, however, successful. The Eastern Europeans, although originally cool to the idea, decided, in concert with several of the African countries, to take the initiative. A draft resolution calling for the preparation of the declaration was cosponsored by Algeria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Syria, Tanzania, and the United Arab Republic. Subsequently, France and Mongolia became cosponsors. Many of the delegations remained unenthusiastic but most felt that the idea could not be ignored.

After a short general debate, the Third Committee, by a vote of 86 to 0, with 3 abstentions (Australia, U.K., U.S.), adopted a resolution which, among other things, called upon the Economic and Social Council to request the Commission for Social Development to prepare "a draft declaration on social development which would, in general terms, define the objectives of social development and the methods and means of achieving them, and to submit it to the General Assembly for consideration at its twenty-third session at the latest." The resolution was subsequently adopted in plenary session 103 to 0, with 3 abstentions (Australia, U.K., U.S.). The United States abstained because, as we had already indicated in the debate, we felt there were already an adequate number of declarations to guide U.N. programs in this field, and the principal need now was for practical action.

The resumed session of ECOSOC forwarded this request to the Commission for Social Development.

Advisory Social Welfare Services

Through the Advisory Social Welfare Services program, the United Nations provides to countries in every region of the world fellowships, technical advisers, and technical literature, and supports demonstration projects in the fields of housing, community development, social welfare, social defense, and population problems. The first of the U.N. technical assistance programs to be established, it has effectively demonstrated in more than 80 countries the value of international aid in such fields as family and child welfare services, social work education, probation and other aspects of social defense, and community development. The social aspects of housing, including community facilities for low-income groups, has been another important area receiving support and guidance. More recently, social research and social administration have received increasing emphasis. Funds for this program are provided in the regular budget of the United Nations in the amount of approximately $2 million, a sum which has remained unchanged for the past 4 years.

The United States has been closely associated with the development of Advisory Social Welfare Services in a variety of ways. It continues to serve as a host country for many of the U.N. fellows. In addition, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare serves as a recruitment agent to provide U.S. experts for the social welfare field.

At the end of the year, 15 U.S. social workers were serving as U.N. consultants to governments in family and child welfare, social work training, general social welfare, and community development. Recognition of U.S. leadership in social welfare is reflected in the fact that 20 percent of all U.N. experts in the field are Americans and 50 percent are U.S.-trained.

These experts perform a variety of functions in the developing countries. One expert is assisting the development of formal social work education in the Ivory Coast. Another is a specialist in medical social work, giving leadership to the establishment of social services in connection with hospitals in Iran. Community development advisers are assisting the Governments of the Congo and Zambia. The family and child welfare advisers in the Republic of China and Pakistan work with the governments on problems of children and youth.

Ceylon has utilized the U.N. Advisory Social Welfare Services to establish a department of social welfare providing social assistance, rehabilitation, and community development services. The Ceylon Department of Probation and Child Care has been strengthened with the return of a U.N. fellow who completed his training in the United States. A training center for social workers, the Ceylon School of Social Work, has been established where personnel for urban and rural development programs, social services, probation, and social aspects of public health programs are receiving training.

In the United Arab Republic, the Training Center for Child Care Workers is directed by a former U.N. fellow who received his training at Columbia University. This training project is a joint U.N.–UNICEF effort, orienting and training child care workers for the villages in Egypt.

At the request of the Tunisian Government, the United Nations has assigned two advisers, one in social welfare and one in community development, to assist in the expanding national social welfare program. Personnel are being prepared for the social centers in urban and rural areas in Tunisia. Intensive educational work is being done with families to improve their levels of living, child

care, home management, and participation in community life.

A special training course, organized by the Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, was held in Fuchu, Japan, from February 25 to March 25, 1966, with 22 participants from 11 countries. The Institute has been consistently used by countries in the region for upgrading their correctional services and has provided opportunity for exchange of new ideas in the correctional field. A professor of sociology at the University of Illinois participated as a visiting expert for the course.

Regional and national seminars continued to be an important part of the assistance made available through the Advisory Social Welfare Services. Thirty-three participants from 27 countries took part in a U.N. Seminar on Programs and Administration of National Rehabilitation Services in Developing Countries, held in Denmark in July–August 1966. The latest trends in services for rehabilitation, including their educational material, social, and vocational aspects, were considered.

A regional Seminar on Family and Child Welfare, jointly sponsored by the United Nations and UNICEF, was held in Bangkok in September 1966. U.N. advisers in Cameroon assisted in the organization of a national seminar on community development and local government held in December. The first of its kind in this country, it was attended by 80 participants, all directly concerned with community development activities.

Scientific research and exchange in the social welfare field have been considerably facilitated by the Advisory Social Welfare Services program. Former U.N. fellows now holding key posts in their home countries have assisted in setting up research and demonstration projects funded through Public Law 480 currency allocated to the various Federal agencies for this purpose. Their assistance has been especially valuable since they have a good understanding of the scientific interests of the United States, as well as of their own countries. A representative from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare attended the first meeting of research correspondents held in Copenhagen in March 1966 by the U.N. Regional Office in Europe. As a result information on current research studies has been exchanged on subjects such as social policy relating to income maintenance, day care for children, and social welfare manpower.

The International Conference of Social Work, held in Washington, August–September 1966, brought to the United States many former U.N. fellows who are now leaders in their own countries in the social field. Approximately 2,800 delegates from 74 countries came together to discuss urban development. The President of the Conference, a Yugoslav expert in social welfare administration, was a former U.N. fellow. Key participants in commissions and workshop sessions had received their initial training through opportunities offered by the United Nations.

More than 70 U.N. fellows had long-term programs of study in the United States in 1966, including 50 in the social welfare field. Child welfare programs were of particular interest to the fellows from Iran, Republic of China, Ceylon, Cyprus, and Peru. Experimental methods of working with the family as a group proved of interest to the fellows from the Netherlands. Many of the schools of social work in the United States have developed new and expanded curriculums in community organization and development. These attracted professors from Spain and Colombia. U.N. fellows from Pakistan, Israel, and India found of special value the newly developed Neighborhood Centers and the mobilization of services for prevention of delinquency. The

Poverty Programs, such as job training of youth, "headstart" programs for preschool children, and retraining and placement in jobs for displaced workers or untrained adults, are particularly adaptable to conditions in other countries. Administrators, teachers, and practitioners from the developing countries found these of value and easily translatable.

The growing awareness in many countries of the interrelatedness of social and economic development is evident in the types of study requested by the U.N. fellows. Their perspective is broader, there is less emphasis on the highly specialized services, and there is a growing interest in broad community planning that takes account of economic as well as social factors that may influence national policy.

Social Defense Activities

The first meeting of the Advisory Committee of Experts on Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, as newly constituted by the U.N. Social Commission on the recommendation of the Secretary-General, convened in December 1965. Myrl E. Alexander, Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, Department of Justice, is a member of this expert body. In January 1966 the Committee submitted to the Secretary-General a number of recommendations related to the program of work in social defense. These included preparations for the fourth U.N. Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, to be held in Tokyo in 1970; measures for strengthening the system of national correspondents; improvement in the distribution of U.N. social defense publications; and the identification of specific areas of activity in which social defense efforts should be strengthened.

The Committee emphasized the need for additional regional institutes in Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East and urged that such institutes give high priority to personnel training and advisory services to governments. It also emphasized the great importance of the preparation of training materials specifically related to the needs and requirements of developing nations.

The Committee was informed of the offer of the Italian Government to provide housing and some staff support for a U.N. International Research Institute in Rome, which would be supported by voluntary contributions to the United Nations under a funds-in-trust agreement.

At the subsequent meeting of the U.N. Social Commission in April 1966, there was further discussion of the proposed Institute. The U.S. Representative urged that funds received under the funds-in-trust arrangement should be devoted, in the main, to strengthening the staff of the U.N. Secretariat in order to provide greater support for action programs in developing countries, the development of training materials, and the exchange of knowledge and experience about program innovations in the field of delinquency and crime. It was the U.S. view that these activities should be assigned higher priority than the establishment of an Institute.

The proposed Institute was again discussed at the second meeting of the Advisory Committee of Experts, convened in New York, December 12–16, 1966. H. G. Moeller, alternate to Mr. Alexander, restated the U.S. position with respect to the Institute, but his reservations regarding the appropriateness of proceeding with the Institute plan at this juncture were not shared by the members of the Committee generally. In the light of the strong support given to the proposal by the other Committee members, Mr. Moeller advised the Committee that the U.S. position would be restudied.

At its second session the Committee also discussed the need to integrate

social defense with broader planning for national economic and social development, and it urged that the work program of the Secretary-General be oriented in this direction. The Committee further recommended the inclusion of four items on the agenda of the U.N. Consultative Group on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders which will convene in Geneva, August 1967: (1) the prevention of delinquency in the context of national planning; (2) the "economics" of personnel training and development; (3) the application of the Standard Minimum Rules of the Treatment of Prisoners—A Review of Progress; and (4) Capital Punishment—Developments, 1961–1965.

During both meetings of the Advisory Committee considerable stress was laid upon the importance of moving social defense from a position of relative isolation into the midstream of national planning and development. There was also considerable emphasis on the importance of innovation, experimentation, and demonstration of new methods in the prevention of crime and treatment of offenders.

In addition to the contributions which the United States has made in the meetings of the Advisory Committee of Experts, President Johnson took action in 1966 to strengthen the system of national correspondents on social defense by increasing the number of U.S. correspondents from three to seven. An attempt was made to identify as correspondents individuals with particular competence in the various program areas of the social defense field. The seven correspondents appointed by the President are: Myrl E. Alexander; James V. Bennett, Consultant, Federal Bureau of Prisons; Philip G. Green, Director, Division of Juvenile Delinquency Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; Dr. Peter P. Lejins, Professor of Sociology, University of Maryland; Richard A. McGee, Administrator, Youth and Adult Corrections Agency, Sacramento, California; Milton G. Rector, Director, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, New York City; and Dr. E. Preston Sharp, General Secretary, American Correctional Association.

The strengthening of the system of national correspondents will improve the U.S. capacity to advise the Secretary-General concerning meaningful developments in the correctional field in the United States and to furnish him other information of value to the United Nations in the development of its program in the field. The work of the correspondents will be coordinated by Mr. Alexander.

Housing, Building, and Planning

The original quantitative housing targets of the Development Decade called for the annual construction of 10 dwelling units for each 1,000 population in the developing countries. The average rate of construction in the developing countries in the first half of the decade, however, is estimated at only 2 units per 1,000. Shelter deficiencies at the midpoint of the Development Decade were thus greater than at the beginning of the period. For the large masses of the population, urban housing (and environment) in the developing countries has continued to deteriorate qualitatively as well as quantitatively.

The U.N. Committee on Housing, Building and Planning and the more recently established U.N. Center for Housing, Building and Planning were created to develop programs and proposals which could lead to an improvement in the current situation. The U.N. regional commissions through their subcommittees on housing, building, and planning are also engaged in this field.

ECOSOC RESOLUTIONS

At its 41st session in the summer of 1966, ECOSOC considered four resolutions recommended to it by the Committee on Housing, Building and Planning at its 3d session in September 1965. One of them dealt with the establishment of an Institute for Documentation on Housing, Building and Planning for which both the Italian and Indian Governments had offered host facilities and some staff. During the course of the ECOSOC session, however, the Italian Government withdrew its offer leaving India as the potential host country.

The United States at both the Committee and at ECOSOC supported the establishment of the Institute in principle, but sought to have ECOSOC revise the draft resolution (1) to insure that the terms of reference limited the Institute's activities to documentation so that it would not duplicate the activities of other U.N. institutions, and (2) to provide for appropriate relationships between the Institute and the U.N. Center for Housing, Building and Planning. ECOSOC, however, adopted by a vote of 24 to 0, with 1 abstention (U.K.), a resolution which, while approving the establishment of the Institute in principle and accepting the offer of the Government of India to provide host facilities, left the consultations and negotiations on functions, organization, administrative arrangements, and financing of the Institute to the Secretary-General. The issue was therefore brought to the fourth session of the Committee on Housing, Building and Planning, held in Geneva in September 1966. At this session, agreement was reached on the functions, staffing, organization, and administrative arrangements for the Institute which were in close accord with U.S. objectives. The Secretary-General has not yet completed his negotiations with respect to financing of the Institute. Thus the date of its establishment is not yet determined.

A second resolution, approved unanimously by ECOSOC at its 41st session, dealt with manpower and skilled personnel needs in housing, building, and planning. It pointed to the wide gap between needs and available trained manpower and requested the Secretary-General to frame an appropriate study to establish a more precise understanding of the nature of these needs and the means whereby they might be met.

A third resolution, also adopted unanimously, related to the social aspects of housing and urban development and directed the Secretary-General to initiate a study that would disclose the helpful experiences of countries which had made substantial progress in solving these problems. This information, when compiled, evaluated, and presented, will provide an instrument whereby developing countries may critically examine their own activities in light of the successful experiences of others. The Secretary-General is also instructed by this resolution to do what he can to intensify the international exchange of experience in this field through the Center for Housing, Building and Planning.

The fourth resolution covered the financing of housing and community facilities in developing countries. The resolution, again adopted unanimously, noted the importance of finance in solving the urban and housing problems of developing countries and called the attention of member states of the United Nations and the specialized agencies to the need to give this key problem the highest priority. Further, it directed the Secretary-General to undertake a study, with the aid of member states and specialized agencies, of possible new approaches, methods, forms, and institutional facilities that would serve to increase the volume and effectiveness of the flow of domestic and external public and private funds to programs in housing and community facilities in developing countries.

ECOSOC also decided to establish the Committee on Housing, Building and Planning on a permanent basis and that after its fifth session in 1967 it should meet biennially.

COMMITTEE ON HOUSING, BUILDING AND PLANNING

The discussions at the fourth session of the Committee on Housing, Building and Planning were marked by expressions of concern and some dissatisfaction at the slow progress of the U.N. program in the field of housing and urban development. It was recognized that the U.N. Center for Housing, Building and Planning was newly established and hardly a year old; nevertheless, it was the clear consensus of the delegates that housing programs were not being given the priority which the Committee members believed they should have.

The Committee devoted considerable time to a careful tailoring of the work program of the Center so that the manpower requirements of the work program would conform reasonably closely with available staff. Finally, the Committee, with U.S. support, adopted two draft resolutions which will be submitted for action to the 43d session of ECOSOC. One resolution is designed to strengthen the Committee's cooperation in the field of housing, building, and planning with regional economic commissions, the specialized agencies, and international nongovernmental organizations. The other resolution concerned the provision of U.N. technical assistance in rehabilitation and reconstruction in countries which suffered natural disasters.

In the course of its session, the Committee came close to final approval of a major report on the financing of housing and community facilities. Officials of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development have provided considerable assistance to the advancement and improvement of this report, which will be published during 1967 and should prove most useful to the Secretary-General in carrying out the ECOSOC resolution on financing.

REGIONAL ACTIVITIES

The Committee on Housing, Building and Planning of the Economic Commission for Europe met in Geneva in May 1966. Important discussions were held regarding the structure of the Committee and, as a result, two of the working groups (building industry and urban renewal and planning) were elevated to the status of subcommittees.

In accordance with a trend which started 2 or 3 years ago, initiated and supported by the United States, the Committee's activities in relation to problems of urban development and redevelopment have continued to grow. The Committee reviewed a completed study, "Major Long-Term Problems of Government Housing and Related Policies." This comprehensive, balanced appraisal of European and U.S. housing and urban policies will be of important assistance to both governments and scholars.

In the fall of 1966 a seminar on the Future Forms and Patterns of Urban Settlements, sponsored and organized by the ECE Committee and its secretariat, was held in Amsterdam. The United States was represented by a five member delegation, including both government and private industry members. Twenty-two countries sent 65 representatives. In addition, representatives of various other international organizations and specialized U.N. bodies were present. In the debate questions were raised concerning man's capacity to predict the future; to channel resources and development into areas of maximum overall benefit; to cope with the sheer size, character, and complexity of urban problems; and to preserve the benefits of today's way of life while meeting new needs on an adequately large scale. Special emphasis was given to the importance of integrating traffic and

transport studies with those of urban planning in general.

The Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East in 1966 established a Subcommittee on Housing, Building and Planning in place of a former working group, and provided that its new terms of reference should cover subjects such as urban and regional planning. This improved status of the ECAFE suborgan is expected to bring about greater activity and consideration of the truly enormous housing and urban problems of the Far East and Asia.

An ECAFE Seminar on Planning for Urban and Regional Development Including Metropolitan Areas, New Towns and Land Policies was held in Nagoya, Japan, in 1966. Seventy-one participants from 20 countries of the region attended the Seminar. Representatives of the United States, U.S.S.R., and several U.N. specialized agencies were in attendance. The working papers dealt with urban and regional development, metropolitan growth, and new towns.

In 1966 the United States, for the first time, served as host to a U.N. seminar held outside of U.N. Headquarters. The Inter-Regional Seminar on Development Policies and Planning in Relation to Urbanization was held in Pittsburgh, October 24–November 4. The Department of Housing and Urban Development cooperated with the Department of State and the U.N. Bureau of Social Affairs to organize the Seminar, and the Pittsburgh Organizing Committee—composed of representatives of the University of Pittsburgh and 21 civic and professional organizations—developed a remarkable program of study tours and hospitality which contributed greatly to the effectiveness of the Seminar.

Twenty-nine representatives from 25 developing countries participated, as well as 17 observers and discussants from 2 U.N. specialized agencies, 8 nongovernmental organizations, and 3 member states. The participants represented a variety of disciplines—economics, social planning, physical planning, architecture, and demography—and the Seminar's success was due in no small measure to this interdisciplinary character.

The papers and discussions constituted a critical and stimulating analysis of the urbanization process with particular reference to its impact on developing countries, and provided suggestions for the solution of some aspects of this problem. Two of the papers were presented by the United States—one on U.S. urban policies and programs, and the other on urbanization and national development. Both U.N. and U.S. officials as well as individual participants reported that they had benefited greatly from the Seminar.

Narcotic Drugs

The 21st session of the U.N. Commission on Narcotic Drugs, of which the United States is a member, met at Geneva from December 5 to 21, 1966.

With certain minor drafting changes, the Commission approved the report of its Committee on Substances Not Under International Control. The Commission recommended that ECOSOC adopt the resolution proposed by the Committee requesting governments to take immediate action to control strictly the import, export, and production of LSD and substances producing similar ill effects, and to place the distribution of these substances under the supervision of competent authorities. The proposed resolution further recommends that use of these substances be restricted to scientific research and medical purposes, and that their administration be only under close and continuous medical supervision.

The Commission adopted the Committee's further recommenda-

tions that (1) the Secretary-General be invited to explore without delay the most appropriate means of bringing LSD and similar substances under international control; and (2) the Secretary-General undertake as a matter of urgency a detailed study of the legal, administrative, and other questions connected with the adoption of international control of central nervous system depressants and stimulants.

The Commission approved the Committee's finding that insufficient information was available concerning the situation throughout the world regarding these stimulant and depressant drugs. The U.S. Representative, Harry J. Anslinger, introduced a draft questionnaire to governments to obtain the necessary information. The Commission requested the Secretariat, in consultation with the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Permanent Central Narcotics Board, to use this as a basis for preparing a questionnaire on the subject for consideration by the Commission at its 22d session.

The Commission adopted unanimously a draft resolution recommending that ECOSOC approve administrative arrangements to insure the full technical independence of the International Narcotics Control Board (INCB). The U.S. Representative stated for the record that since the United States had not acceded to the Convention on Privileges and Immunities referred to in operative paragraph 5 of the draft resolution, the benefits accorded members of the INCB in the United States on official business will be in accordance with U.S. domestic legislation, that is, the International Organization Immunities Act.

The Commission concluded that it would be extremely useful if the Secretariat were to present to its next session a further analytical study on the advantages and disadvantages of abolishing the licit production of opium.

The Commission reviewed the illicit traffic situation in 1965; information available to the Commission again confirmed the main sources and routes of the illicit traffic and the principal areas of its destination. It was noted that during 1965 many of the important traffic cases had been successfully concluded because of excellent cooperation between the enforcement services of different countries.

The Commission concluded that it would be advisable to remind governments of the importance of establishing the fullest possible data on such facets of the problem as the number of addicts and the drugs used, in order to submit fuller and more uniform annual reports. Regarding a suggestion that an international definition of drug addiction might help to standardize the statistical returns, however, the Commission concluded that it was difficult to establish a definition which would both meet legal, medical, and scientific requirements and be of practical use for narcotics control.

As a result of a general discussion on the financial implications of developing the technical cooperation resources of the United Nations in the field of narcotics control, the Commission decided to invite the Secretary-General to prepare a 5-year plan setting out in detail the overall requirements of governments, as well as the consequential staffing and material needs of the U.N. Division of Narcotic Drugs.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

The basic function of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is to provide legal and political protection

to refugees within the UNHCR mandate, i.e., within the scope of the statute of the Office. In addition the UNHCR, in collaboration with governments and private organizations, conducts assistance programs promoting solutions to problems of needy refugees within his mandate through voluntary repatriation or their assimilation within new national communities. The UNHCR also uses his good offices (under authority contained in several General Assembly resolutions) in similarly assisting refugees who have not been determined to be within the UNHCR mandate.

The UNHCR Executive Committee, composed of representatives of 30 governments including the United States, reviews and supervises the High Commissioner's activities. During 1966, as in past years, the Executive Committee met in regular session in the spring (May 16–24) and again in the fall (October 31–November 8). The U.S. Representatives on the Committee at these sessions were, respectively, Elmer M. Falk and Ambassador James Wine.

LEGAL AND POLITICAL PROTECTION

It is the principal responsibility of the High Commissioner to use the prestige and authority of his Office and of the United Nations to secure necessary, effective arrangements with governmental authorities for the legal and political protection of refugees who are his concern. A primary tool for this is the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, which prohibits the forcible return of refugees to territories where their life or freedom would be threatened. The Convention also sets forth numerous guarantees designed to improve the legal, political, economic, and social status of refugees in their countries of residence, thus facilitating their reestablishment on a basis of self-support and individual dignity. The High Commissioner is charged with encouraging further accessions to the Convention, supervising its application in states that have acceded to it, and promoting the constructive development or implementation of pertinent national legislative and administrative measures. During 1966 two additional countries—Kenya and The Gambia—became parties to the Convention, bringing the number of signatories to 51.

The UNHCR Legal Assistance Program, which is related both to protection efforts and the assistance program, was maintained. Through this program approximately 6,000 refugees received specialized legal assistance on individual problems connected with efforts to secure their reestablishment.

During 1966 the High Commissioner concluded negotiations begun earlier for securing additional indemnification funds for refugees who were persecuted for reasons of nationality under Hitler's National Socialist regime. Under an agreement concluded in December between the UNHCR and the Federal Republic of Germany, the latter provided $875,000 to be administered by the UNHCR for the indemnification of certain national persecutees who were excluded under the terms of a similar fund, amounting to approximately $11 million, established in 1960. Under the 1960 fund, which was disbursed prior to 1966 to some 12,000 national persecutees in 35 countries, persons who were not refugees as of October 1, 1953, were ineligible to apply for benefits. The new fund will benefit those who either acquired a new nationality prior to October 1, 1953, or who became refugees after that date.

The United States, together with a majority of the members of the Executive Committee, has consistently stressed that the legal and political protection function is of overriding importance among the High Commissioner's responsibilities, and that effective performance in this field is

essential to the maintenance of prestige and meaningful effort in other UNHCR activities. This position was reiterated by the U.S. Representative during each of the 1966 sessions of the Executive Committee. Particular emphasis was placed on the importance of vigilance and firm action by the High Commissioner to intervene effectively with governments, thus insuring that no political refugee is returned against his will to his country of origin. It was stressed that the primary importance of international protection should not be lost sight of in the light of mounting requirements in certain regions for UNHCR material assistance in meeting new refugee problems. This position received wide support from other representatives on the Committee, and a reasonable level of UNHCR representation has been assured in regions where material needs are presently not great but where problems of international protection remain acute.

THE CURRENT PROGRAM

The Current Program is designed to enable the UNHCR to assist countries of asylum in coping with the problems of new refugees. The UNHCR Executive Committee, at its 14th session in 1965, established an overall ceiling of $3.9 million for the 1966 program and approved projects in the amount of $3.5 million. The Committee subsequently raised this ceiling to $4.2 million at its 15th session and approved further projects to nearly that amount, toward meeting newly developing refugee problems (chiefly in Africa). The United States contributed $650,000 to the 1966 program and continued to support the High Commissioner in his efforts to secure additional and larger contributions to the UNHCR assistance program from governments and private sources throughout the world. Total government contributions in 1966 were $3,123,975 from 52 countries, compared with $2,868,661 from 57 countries in 1965.

In Europe, where the rate of influx of newly arriving refugees from Eastern Europe continued at the 1965 level, the Current Program carried out the local integration of many refugees who did not wish or were unable to emigrate. These measures contributed to the success of the collective international effort to reestablish (especially through overseas resettlement) a sufficient number of the newly arriving refugees to prevent an increased accumulation in asylum countries. During 1966 the UNHCR also continued to assist Cuban refugees in Spain and Latin America. In Latin America the program again emphasized assistance to aged and handicapped refugees through support of institutional homes, annuities, and related means. Similar projects were carried out in certain Middle East countries in behalf of the limited number of needy mandate refugees in that area.

In the Far East, UNHCR assistance in the reestablishment of European refugees arriving in Hong Kong from mainland China was sharply curtailed because few such refugees were permitted to leave the mainland during 1966. Under the good offices function, the UNHCR continued to assist Chinese refugees in Macau and Tibetan refugees in Nepal. In exercising his authority to use his good offices for refugees not within the UNHCR mandate, the High Commissioner, in Asia as elsewhere, utilized money available from his Emergency Fund or from voluntary contributions to support or set in motion a coordinated assistance program with the participation of interested governments, international organizations, and/or voluntary agencies.

Approximately one-half of the resources of the 1966 UNHCR Current Program were applied toward meeting refugee problems in Africa. The UNHCR African operations are designed to reestablish the refugees

on a self-sufficient basis within the asylum countries, chiefly through agricultural settlement projects, and to meet the emergency and interim needs of the refugees. The asylum countries provide the land and meet certain of the other costs involved; in some instances, the benefits of these new communities are extended to indigenous residents of the area as well.

The UNHCR continued to provide assistance for (1) refugees from Rwanda in Burundi, the Congo (Kinshasa), Tanzania, and Uganda; (2) refugees from Sudan in Uganda and the Central African Republic; (3) refugees from Mozambique in Tanzania; and (4) refugees from Portuguese Guinea in Senegal. During 1966 the UNHCR, at the request of the concerned countries of asylum, also initiated assistance programs in behalf of Sudanese refugees in the Congo (Kinshasa), refugees from Mozambique and Angola in Zambia, refugees from the Congo (Kinshasa) in Uganda and Tanzania, and refugees from Burundi in Rwanda.

The UNHCR continued to cooperate with the concerned African governments in facilitating the peaceful return and reintegration in their homelands of refugees desiring repatriation. However, progress in these efforts was minimal.

Throughout 1966, in connection with its projects for establishing new communities for refugees in Africa, UNHCR continued to call on other U.N. bodies such as the International Labor Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the UNDP, and the World Health Organization for expert assistance in such matters as bush clearance, tsetse fly eradication, irrigation, selection of sites, and choice of crops. The World Food Program and the U.S. Government provided large quantities of food to sustain refugees until settlements could become self-supporting. In Europe liaison was maintained with the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, which facilitates the movement of refugees to resettlement areas abroad. In all areas, the UNHCR worked closely with an increasing number of voluntary organizations interested in assisting refugees.

The U.S. Representatives to the Executive Committee at its two sessions in 1966 constantly pressed for the closest possible coordination between the UNHCR and other multilateral or private organizations, in order to draw more fully on their resources in solving refugee problems as a part of broader development programs, and also to avoid any duplication of effort in the care, reestablishment, and educational assistance provided for the refugees.

The United States, both in the UNHCR Executive Committee and elsewhere, continued in 1966 to give strong support to the efforts of the High Commissioner in all areas to deal promptly and constructively with emerging and existing refugee problems.

THE MAJOR AID PROGRAM

At its 15th session the Executive Committee decided that future reports on the completion of the Major Aid Program should be limited to the three remaining main areas of operations—France, Greece, and Italy—and that a final comprehensive report should be issued upon completion of all projects concerned. The Major Aid Program began in 1963 as a final effort to resolve the residual problem, chiefly in Europe, of mandate refugees who had been registered on the UNHCR caseload in asylum countries prior to 1961. Most of the funds for this program were received in 1963 as lump-sum contributions from governments and private sources. In addition, in 1966 as previously, matching contributions for approved projects were provided by the several European countries of asylum. During the year the Major

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Aid Program succeeded, through projects for local integration or resettlement, in completing its work in Germany and Italy and in reducing its overall residual caseload to 7,400. The refugees still to be assisted under this program are in France and Greece and are largely aged or severely handicapped, requiring special housing or institutional care. By the end of 1966 all available funds had been obligated for specific projects. Completion of these projects and disbursement of the funds will, however, extend into 1969.

The U.S. Representative at the 15th session of the Executive Committee pressed for concerted action to expedite this program and to draw up a definite schedule for completion of disbursements. This action, supported by other delegations, has brought responsive action by the UNHCR.

THE EMERGENCY FUND

The $500,000 UNHCR Emergency Fund, established by a 1958 General Assembly resolution, has continued to be an indispensable tool of the High Commissioner and is regularly replenished through repayments of refugee housing loans made under previous UNHCR programs. The U.S. Representative has consistently encouraged the UNHCR to draw upon the Fund for emergency refugee problems that arise between Executive Committee sessions. During 1966 the High Commissioner expended over $246,000 from the Fund for such purposes, most of which was applied to assistance projects in Africa.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

The Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees applies only to persons who became refugees as a result of events occurring prior to January 1, 1951. During 1965 and 1966 the UNHCR, with the support and assistance of its Executive Committee, developed a draft Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees which would enable states to accept the provisions of the Convention without its eligibility deadline. The draft Protocol was submitted to the 21st session of the General Assembly through the Economic and Social Council. On December 16, 1966, the General Assembly adopted by a vote of 91 (U.S.) to 0, with 15 abstentions, a resolution which took note of the Protocol and requested the Secretary-General to transmit its text to states with a view to enabling them to accede to the Protocol. The Protocol had been initially recommended in 1965 by an international colloquium of legal experts, convened under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

The General Assembly also adopted on December 16, by a vote of 90 (U.S.) to 0, with 11 abstentions, a resolution noting "the progress achieved in all the countries of the world where the High Commissioner's office is carrying out its activities . . ." and calling upon states to support the High Commissioner "in the accomplishment of his humanitarian task."

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

December 9, 1966, marked 20 years of service by UNICEF to the world's children. Speaking in behalf of the United States at the ceremonies in the Third Committee of the General Assembly marking the event, Ambassador Goldberg recalled the active part the United States took in bringing this agency into being. He noted that when the establishment of the U.N. International Children's Emergency Fund was debated before the Committee 20 years ago, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt had warmly endorsed

the resolution and said she could not imagine any government not supporting the proposal. Commenting further on U.S. support for UNICEF, Ambassador Goldberg announced a special U.S. contribution of $1 million to commemorate the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to UNICEF in 1965. This sum is in addition to the regular U.S. pledge and is not subject to the matching formula. The U.S. Representative stated, "It is an unconditional contribution, authorized by the United States Congress and by the President as a tribute to UNICEF's outstanding service to children all over the world and thereby to the cause of peace."

For the second time in 20 years the UNICEF Executive Board met in a developing country. The annual meeting of the Board convened in Africa Hall, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, and a Special Meeting on the Needs of African Children was combined with this session. An address by his Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I marked the opening of the session.

Preceding the Board session a number of governments, primarily in Africa, invited Board members to visit their countries to see the problems of children and to appraise UNICEF's programs. These country visits, by providing an opportunity for observation of UNICEF-aided projects in action, enhance the Board members' understanding of programs and increase their ability to allocate funds wisely. The U.S. Representative, Dean P. Frederick DelliQuadri, and the Alternate Representative, Dr. Katherine Bain, participated in visits to Turkey, Nigeria, and Kenya.

FAMILY PLANNING

Foremost among the policy issues before the Board at its 1966 session was the question of UNICEF's role in family planning. This item was on the agenda because of a U.S. initiative at the 1965 session. The Executive Director, Henry R. Labouisse, at the Board's request had prepared a report defining activities appropriate for UNICEF support, and recommending that the Board approve the principle of UNICEF assistance to this fundamental aspect of maternal and child health. After a long and serious debate which revealed that the Board was almost evenly divided on this issue, the Board decided to request advice from the WHO/UNICEF Joint Health Policy Committee on the best way in which UNICEF might participate in programs of family planning and to postpone its final decision until its 1967 session. The U.S. Representative stated his support for UNICEF assistance to family planning and expressed his disappointment that the Board had not been able to reach an affirmative decision on the Executive Director's recommendations.

Requests from India and Pakistan for aid in family planning were before the Board. Though not yet ready to commit UNICEF to the principle of aid for family planning, a large majority of the Board was prepared to provide aid to these countries for maternal and child health, including family planning, and did so by mail poll after the projects were revised to include the family planning assistance within the context of maternal and child health services. Thus in 1966 UNICEF provided aid totaling $615,000 for family planning.

NEEDS OF THE AFRICAN CHILD

The report of the UNICEF Director for the African Region and the Board's review of the projects in this region revealed the slow progress being made toward meeting the needs of the African child. Though the Board had decided several years ago to relax some of the criteria for approving projects in the less developed African countries to provide "special assistance for special conditions," many African countries are unable, because of unsettled conditions, to take advantage of this policy. As administrative machinery improves in

the countries, the Regional Director expects that recommendations for assistance will increase. Despite the difficulties, however, education programs are receiving some increased emphasis in African countries. Practical and vocational instruction is being introduced into school curriculums and programs are being developed for out-of-school youth, a group for which there is growing concern.

TRAINING

Training continues to take an increasing amount of UNICEF resources, amounting to 29 percent of allocations for long-term aid in 1966. This reflects a general recognition that trained staff constitute the backbone of services benefiting children, and also that UNICEF aid in this field is highly valued. Several interregional training projects that were before the Board provided an opportunity for the U.S. Representative to raise some questions about the direction which UNICEF's aid to training should take. It was the U.S. position that UNICEF's special role is to support in-country training in the developing regions of the world, with particular emphasis on middle level and auxiliary personnel. UNICEF is almost the only external source of aid for such training while many international and bilateral programs offer assistance for advanced training in industrialized countries.

VIET-NAM

When the projects for East Asia, including two projects for Viet-Nam, were before the Board, the U.S.S.R. Delegate called for the disapproval of the Viet-Nam projects. The Soviet attack was effectively answered by Delegates of Australia, Belgium, Brazil, China, Federal Republic of Germany, Israel, Senegal, Switzerland, Thailand, Tunisia, and the United Kingdom, as well as by the United States. In general, these Delegates stressed that UNICEF is a humanitarian organization and that political questions should not be introduced into consideration of assistance to children. The U.S.S.R. received no support except from the Eastern European countries and the projects were approved.

PROGRAM EVALUATION

Increasing attention is being given to program evaluation, a difficult task in fields where the result of aid must be measured in such intangibles as changes in food habits and in patterns of child care. Though recognizing the difficulties of program assessment, the Board has developed a schedule for such reviews, dealing with two or three at each Board session. This year's agenda included (1) assessment of family and child welfare programs, and (2) assessment of milk conservation programs. New guidelines for aid to leprosy control projects were developed, based on a review of the projects at the previous Board session. On the basis of these reviews and assessments it is hoped that the Board will be able to provide guidance for program planning and improvement.

FINANCIAL CONSIDERATIONS

As usual the Board was confronted by the dilemma of vast needs in all parts of the developing world and insufficient resources to meet them. The Executive Director expressed his conviction that UNICEF's resources must and could be increased. In view of the need, the ever-widening gap between the standards of living of children in the developed and the developing countries, and the ever-increasing demands on UNICEF resources, the Executive Director set a goal of $50 million by the end of 1969, as both reasonable and attainable. There was warm support in the Board for this goal, although representatives were not in a position to commit their governments to specific contributions. The U.S. delegation

was authorized to support the target of $50 million and to reiterate its willingness to consider an increase in the U.S. contribution if other governments increased their contributions so as to retain the 40 (U.S.) to 60 (other countries) ratio. The Swedish delegation announced an increase in its contribution from $1 million to $1.5 million. Later, at the 20th anniversary celebration in December 1966, Canada announced a special gift of $100,000 as a memorial to the children who lost their lives at Aberfan, Wales. Also announced at that time were increases in annual contributions of $125,000 by the Federal Republic of Germany, $350,000 by Switzerland, $10,000 by Korea, and $300,000 by France.

UNICEF's income for 1966 was $35.0 million of which $26.6 million came from voluntary contributions by 117 governments and the remainder from private contributions and other sources. This is an increase in income of $2.0 million over 1965. Against these resources the Board approved at its meeting and in subsequent mail polls total allocations of $38.2 million, including $29.5 million in new or continuing aid to projects; the remainder is for administration and operating services. These resources will be spent mainly in 1967.

Distribution of funds among the various program fields remained about the same, with health receiving 58.6 percent of the allocations, nutrition 18 percent, education 14.3 percent, and family and child welfare services 4.4 percent; the remainder of 4.7 percent was for projects in other fields.

The financial plan for 1967, recommended by the Executive Director, was based on an estimated income of $39–42 million and allocations at the same level. It did not provide for any reduction in the operating fund which had reached $30 million. The U.S. Representative suggested that the financial plan should also provide for the use in 1967 and 1968 of the excess in the operating fund above the $25 million target level. This suggestion was quickly supported by a number of delegations, including those of Australia, Canada, France, and Sweden. A resolution embodying the U.S. view was adopted.

Because of the serious space problem at the U.N. Headquarters in New York, UNICEF was asked to vacate the rent-free quarters it has occupied for some years. The move to a nearby building with adequate space at a rental in line with New York rates was accomplished in November 1966, but not without pressure from a number of sources to move to some other country where rent-free quarters might be obtained. Though the physical location of UNICEF outside Headquarters will present some problems, nevertheless the close relationship that exists between UNICEF and the parent body has been maintained by the retention of UNICEF in New York in an area adjacent to Headquarters.

Each year, millions of Americans of all ages give concrete evidence of their sympathy and support for the work of UNICEF by their participation in the activities sponsored by the U.S. Committee for UNICEF. Some 3½ million children take part in the Trick or Treat for UNICEF at Halloween, raising over $2 million for the Fund in each of the past few years. The UNICEF greeting cards and notepaper are received enthusiastically, as evidenced by the sale of over 22 million cards last year. These combined efforts enabled the U.S. Committee for UNICEF to turn over $5.5 million for the work of UNICEF in 1966. The organization needed to carry on such activities involves a wide and varied audience. For example, volunteers in thousands of communities take part in the organization and supervision of the children at Halloween.

Because the Committee is precluded from paid advertisements, it has depended upon the cooperation

of the communications media to publicize its activities. This has been given in good measure through donations of space in magazines, public service time on radio and TV, and the editorial pages of newspapers.

Scientific Cooperation

The acquisition, application, or exchange of scientific knowledge is involved in many of the activities undertaken within the U.N. family of international organizations. This is reflected throughout the present report. This section reviews the scientific interests and activities not dealt with elsewhere in the report of the Economic and Social Council, the General Assembly, the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development, and the U.N. Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation.

Other sections which contain extensive material on scientific cooperation are those on Outer Space (see page 13), the Food and Agriculture Organization (see page 157), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (see page 163), the World Health Organization (see page 169), the International Telecommunication Union (see page 176), the World Meteorological Organization (see page 179), and the International Atomic Energy Agency (see page 182).

Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development

FIFTH COMMITTEE SESSION

At its fifth session (New York, March 22–April 4, 1966), the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development completed its third report, similar in content to its second report prepared in 1965, and proposed that ECOSOC approve its recommendations as guidelines for the conduct of a "World Plan of Action for the Application of Science and Technology to Development."

ECOSOC CONSIDERATION

At its 41st session ECOSOC welcomed the report but decided that the "World Plan of Action" was not sufficiently defined and detailed, and that an essential first step would be the reexamination and reorientation of existing programs. As a result, in a resolution of August 5, 1966, ECOSOC, instead of deciding to "conduct" a World Plan of Action, "welcomed" the proposal for such a plan and made specific provision for its further consideration and possible elaboration.

In this same resolution ECOSOC endorsed the objectives which, in the view of the Advisory Committee, should be sought in any program for the application of science and technology to development: (1) to help developing countries to build the necessary structure of national and, when appropriate, regional institutions, and to train the skilled personnel necessary for applying science and technology to development; (2) to promote the more effective application of science and technology in the development of the less developed countries, to improve the arrangements for the transfer and adaptation of knowledge available in the more

developed countries, and to create a more favorable climate in the developing countries for the adoption of innovations in the techniques of production; (3) to focus efforts of scientists and research organizations in the developed countries on problems whose solution would be of special benefit to the developing countries, and to encourage the cooperation of developed and developing countries to this end; and (4) to promote in all countries—among governments, the scientific community, the general public, and especially young people—a greater knowledge of the needs of the developing countries for science and technology.

ECOSOC asked all interested parts of the U.N. system to prepare by January 1, 1968, detailed statements on the extent to which their current or planned programs and activities would accelerate accomplishment of these objectives. It asked the Advisory Committee to examine these statements together with other relevant materials in order to determine the scope of the activities, to identify areas in which there were gaps or imbalances, to define in greater detail its proposed "World Plan of Action," and to recommend to ECOSOC further action to stimulate and, as necessary, reorient the activities of those organizations in respect to the application of science and technology to development.

During ECOSOC debate on the Advisory Committee's report, reference was repeatedly made to the importance of the Committee's remaining advisory, and not becoming involved in operational activities. This point was underlined in a unanimously adopted report by ECOSOC's Coordination Committee which also stressed the view that since the Committee was composed of experts rather than states, "only the elected members of the Advisory Committee should take part in its sessions and participate directly in its discussion and work."

ECOSOC adopted unanimously a recommendation from the Secretary-General that all members of the Advisory Committee be reelected for a further period of 3 years, but several Council members stressed the desirability of eventually introducing some system of rotation of membership.

SIXTH COMMITTEE SESSION

At its sixth session (Rome, October 17–28, 1966), the Advisory Committee reviewed and revised its internal organization and working methods in light of the experience gained during the first 3 years of its existence. It determined, in conformity with the view expressed by ECOSOC, that substitutes should no longer be allowed to represent elected members. It also decided that only a limited number of subjects should be considered at each future session and that a working paper should be prepared in advance on each agreed topic. The Advisory Committee decided that it would no longer prepare long, general reports. Instead it would (1) present to ECOSOC annually a brief, factual report on its activities during the year, and (2) prepare as appropriate separate reports on substantive items.

Because of the need for more precise knowledge of the expenditures by U.N. organizations for the application of science and technology to development, the Committee decided (1) to make the subject a principal item on the agenda for its second meeting in 1967, and (2) to establish an informal advisory group to assist in preparing documentary material to serve as the basis for discussion and action.

At earlier sessions, the Advisory Committee had stressed the importance of education as a foundation for the provision of the trained manpower needed to apply science and technology to the problems of developing countries. Because the field of science education is extremely broad, the Committee determined to

focus its attention on just two critical topics: science and mathematics curricula in primary and secondary schools, and the learning process in young children. It established informal advisory groups to supervise the preparation of material on these topics for consideration at its second meeting in 1967.

As a result of decisions taken at its fifth session, the Committee had before it a paper on "Increasing the Production and Human Use of Protein," prepared by Dr. Nevin S. Scrimshaw of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. After discussing this report and related U.N. documents, it was decided to prepare a special report on the subject of edible protein for consideration at the Advisory Committee's first meeting in 1967 and submission to the ECOSOC.

After a general discussion of the need for greater knowledge of natural resources in connection with development, the Committee concluded that an informal advisory group should develop a draft report on natural resources for consideration at the first session in 1967. With respect to the proposal made early in 1966 by the Secretary-General for a 5-year survey program for the development of nonagricultural natural resources (see page 139), the Committee concluded that before being approved any such program should be thoroughly reexamined "both as regards the general methods to be used and the choice of surveys to be made."

United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR)

UNSCEAR held its 16th session in New York, June 6–17, 1966. The U.S. Representative was Dr. Richard H. Chamberlain. At this meeting UNSCEAR completed, for submission to the General Assembly, a special report on environmental radiation and the genetic risks of radiation that was designed to supplement earlier reports prepared in 1962 and 1964.

The section on environmental radiation constituted UNSCEAR's reevaluation of the risks of radiation from natural sources (e.g., cosmic rays, radiation from the earth's crust), and from manmade sources (e.g., nuclear tests, nuclear accidents, the release of wastes from facilities using nuclear technologies for industrial, medical, or research purposes). Measurements of radioactivity in the stratosphere—the main depository of radioactive debris still available for worldwide deposit—and estimates of the total amount of artificial radioactivity deposited over the surface of the globe led UNSCEAR to only slightly lower estimates of current and expected contamination of land areas than were set forth in its 1964 report. Analyses of food contamination (especially milk) broadly confirmed the trends predicted earlier but indicated that the estimates of the average cumulative doses of strontium 90 had been overestimated. With respect to external doses from artificial radioactivity deposited on the ground, information on the leaching of radioactivity into deeper layers of the soil and on washout from hard surfaces led UNSCEAR to reduce its estimates on external doses of radiation to between one-fourth and one-third of the magnitudes set forth in the 1964 report.

In the section on the genetic risks of radiation, UNSCEAR concluded that it could formulate risk estimates only in respect to acute radiation. It further pointed out that, as only a fraction of the effects of genetic changes induced by radiation were identifiable, not even guesses could be made regarding the risk of other genetic effects which might well con-

stitute a major part of the overall consequence of exposure to radiation.

UNSCEAR decided that at future meetings it would consider in detail the effects of ionizing radiation on the nervous system; biological indicators of irradiation in man; and the principles, procedures, and parameters used in estimating doses to the population from global radioactive contamination of the environment.

UNSCEAR's report was considered by the Special Political Committee of the 21st General Assembly in December 1966. On December 17 the Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution that commended UNSCEAR for its contributions to the wider knowledge and understanding of the effects and levels of atomic radiation, commended the World Meteorological Organization on its program for monitoring and reporting levels of atmospheric radioactivity, and asked UNSCEAR to continue its program to increase knowledge of the levels and effect of atomic radiation from all sources.

Other Questions Relating to Science and Technology

WATER RESOURCES

The "Fourth Biennial Report on Water Resources Development," covering 1964 and 1965, was submitted to the 40th session of ECOSOC by the U.N. Secretary-General. This is the only document that gives an overall picture of the activities of all U.N. bodies concerned with water resources development. As such, it is a useful base for governments in formulating proposals for action and a valuable tool in filling gaps and adjusting imbalances in this field. Among the subjects the report covered were the International Hydrological Decade, international river basins, irrigation and drainage, community water supplies, wastes disposal, water pollution problems, desalination of sea and brackish water, national water agencies, the economics of conveyance of water, and manpower and training. ECOSOC noted the report and requested that similar future reports be made.

In response to a 1965 ECOSOC request, the Secretary-General submitted a special report, "Water Desalination, With Special Reference to Developments in 1965," which summarized the work in this field of U.N. organizations and individual governments. The report proposed a work plan, subsequently approved unanimously by ECOSOC, under which the U.N. Secretariat would (1) survey the desalination studies and projects undertaken in member states to determine needs and to provide the basis for more practical planning of action programs; (2) assemble, maintain, and publish annually up-to-date data on desalination plants, as a stimulus to further development in this area; (3) fill some of the gaps in knowledge of the economic problems involved in developing water desalination programs; and (4) undertake other studies on such matters as the economic and technical problems of water distribution, applicable water rate schedules, the cost and possible uses after treatment of contaminated water, and the economics and techniques of solar distillation.

NONAGRICULTURAL RESOURCES

As requested by ECOSOC in 1965, the Secretary-General presented a biennial review entitled "Development of Non-Agricultural Resources." It contained analytical summaries of the work being done by the United Nations with respect to mineral, energy, and water resources development, and surveying and mapping for resources development. It also contained proposals for nine worldwide surveys over the next 5 years on iron ore resources, important nonferrous metals, selected mines in developing

countries with a view to increasing ore reserves and production through the application of modern technology, offshore mineral potential in developing areas, water needs and resources in potentially water-short developing countries, potential for development of international rivers, potential geothermal energy resources in developing countries, oil shale resources, and needs for small-scale power generation in developing countries.

The U.N. Under Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs informed ECOSOC that all nine surveys, although covering very different fields, had certain objectives in common. They would all (1) provide significant new information, ideas, and approaches on the natural resources potential of developing countries; (2) make it possible, through the assembly of data, to obtain a worldwide perspective of the long-term potential supplies and needs in the important resource sectors covered; (3) help governments define the legal and organizational framework required for the optimal development of natural resources; and (4) prepare specific projects for investment from multilateral and bilateral sources of technical assistance.

He made it clear, however, that the program could not be financed through the regular U.N. budget, and support would be needed from the UNDP and industrialized countries.

Many ECOSOC representatives wanted further information on such questions as the criteria for the selection of the subject areas to be surveyed, the priorities involved in making the surveys, the possible sources of funds, and the relationship of the proposed survey program to work already being carried on by U.N. organizations and other international bodies. As a result, in a resolution adopted on March 7, 1966, ECOSOC asked the Secretary-General to consult both the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development and outside experts on the proposed surveys and to obtain the comments of governments. It was hoped that the data thus assembled would enable ECOSOC to review the proposed program more thoroughly at its 41st session.

At the 41st session, however, there was still insufficient information for final decisions on the nature and scope of the program or the manner in which it should be carried out. Accordingly, in a resolution of July 26 ECOSOC asked governments which had not yet done so to communicate to the Secretary-General by September 30 their views on the program and the possibilities of financing it.

The Council also asked the Secretary-General (1) to consult the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development on the implications of the proposed program in the context of other work in the field of natural resources (see page 138); (2) to establish three small groups of consultants in the fields of minerals, water resources, and energy to prepare a study on the parameters and scope of the objectives of the surveys, definitions and criteria, detailed planning, and a more precise assessment of the time and cost-benefit of the proposed surveys; (3) to consult the regional economic commissions, the specialized agencies concerned, the IAEA, and other appropriate bodies on the planning and implementation of the proposed survey program; (4) to examine means of financing the program; and (5) to make an interim report to ECOSOC at its resumed 41st session and a final report not later than its 43d session in 1967.

On December 6 the U.N. General Assembly endorsed the continuing study by ECOSOC of means to implement the proposed 5-year survey program and asked the Secretary-General to study and report to ECOSOC the financial and technical

implications of carrying out surveys of petroleum and natural gas resources in developing countries.

MARINE RESOURCES

During ECOSOC's discussion of the development of nonagricultural resources at its 40th session, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador James Roosevelt, proposed that the United Nations undertake a survey of marine resources beyond the continental shelf. He pointed out that the mineral and food resources of the sea beyond the continental shelf, excluding fish, constituted reserves of raw materials not fully utilized but of potential vital importance to all countries. ECOSOC concluded that a compilation of the knowledge on resources of the sea and techniques for exploiting them would be valuable to developing countries in improving or initiating sea exploitation programs. Accordingly, in a resolution of March 7, it asked the Secretary-General (1) to survey the present state of knowledge of the mineral and food resources of the sea beyond the continental shelf, excluding fish, and of the techniques for exploiting them; (2) to try to identify those resources capable of economic exploitation, especially for the benefit of developing countries; and (3) to identify any gaps in the available knowledge which merited early attention.

Ambassador Roosevelt, addressing the Second Committee of the U.N. General Assembly on October 18, said:

> In my country we have enacted marine science and resource legislation and formed a National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development. The importance that we attach to the subject is evidenced by the fact that our Vice President is Chairman of that Cabinet-level Council. Both the President of the United States and the Vice President have emphasized the importance of increased international cooperation in the field of marine resources.
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> At our initiative, the Economic and Social Council has adopted a resolution requesting the Secretary-General to survey the present state of knowledge of resources of the sea. We now believe that the General Assembly should endorse this resolution and go further by requesting the Secretary-General to undertake a comprehensive survey of existing cooperative activities in marine science and technology, with a view to framing appropriate proposals for consideration by the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly.

As a result of this proposal a resolution on "Resources of the Sea" was adopted by the General Assembly on December 6 by a vote of 100 (U.S.) to 0, with 11 abstentions. It endorsed the ECOSOC resolution of March 7 and asked the Secretary-General to undertake, in addition, a comprehensive survey of activities in marine science and technology undertaken by U.N. organizations, universities, scientific and technological institutes, and other interested organizations. It further asked the Secretary-General, in light of that survey, to formulate proposals (1) to insure an expanded program of international cooperation for a better understanding of the marine environment and an effective exploitation and development of marine resources with due regard to the conservation of fish stocks, and (2) to initiate and strengthen marine education and training programs.

The resolution provided for the establishment of a small group of experts to assist the Secretary-General in the survey, and further provided that the survey and proposals should be submitted successively to the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development, to ECOSOC, and to the 23d session of the General Assembly.

CARTOGRAPHY

Under the auspices of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, the Second United Nations Regional Cartographic Conference for Africa

met in Tunisia, September 12–24, 1966. It was attended by 21 African countries and 10 observers, including the United States. The meeting demonstrated the growing African awareness of the importance of accurate maps in planning economic development. Fourteen resolutions were adopted on geodesy, hydrography, photogrammetry, topography, specialized developmental mapping, and the reproduction of maps. The meeting recommended that African nations develop or expand their activities in those fields, that they attend the U.N. Conference on Geographic Names scheduled for September 4–22, 1967, and that they seek membership in the International Hydrographic Bureau.

Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

Convention Against Racial Discrimination

On September 28, 1966, in a ceremony at the United Nations, Ambassador Goldberg signed on behalf of the United States the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. This Convention had been adopted by the General Assembly in 1965 and, by the end of 1966, 48 states had signed it and five had ratified or acceded to it.

At the signing Ambassador Goldberg made clear the following understanding of the U.S. Government:

> In signing this Convention today, I would like to point out that, under the constitutional processes of my government, treaties such as this Convention can enter into force in the United States only after they are ratified by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. I would also like to observe that the Convention accords with the objectives of the United States, as they are expressed in our Constitution and law. To make this clear, I have requested the United Nations to circulate the following statement with the notification of signature by the United States:
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> "The Constitution of the United States contains provisions for the protection of individual rights, such as the right of free speech, and nothing in the Convention shall be deemed to require or to authorize legislation or other action by the United States of America incompatible with the provisions of the Constitution of the United States of America."

The substantive provisions of the Convention are directed at the elimination of racial discrimination, defined to mean "any distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference based on race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin" which impairs the exercise of human rights in any area of public life. States which become Parties undertake to use their various governmental powers to promote interracial understanding, to end, by all appropriate means, racial discrimination in public life, and to prohibit propaganda and organizations which promote theories of racial superiority. In case of disputes between Parties regarding their obligations under the Convention, the implementation articles provide for a reporting procedure, good offices, conciliation, and, under certain circumstances, recourse to the International Court of Justice.

Human Rights Covenants

After more than 17 years of intermittent consideration within the United Nations, the General Assembly at its 21st session adopted on December 16, 1966, two major instruments on human rights—the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, to which an optional protocol was attached, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The two covenants were adopted unanimously, the optional protocol by a vote of 68 (U.S.) to 2, with 38 abstentions.

These instruments are in the form of international conventions. They derive from the principles contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and represent an attempt to translate those principles into rights and freedoms recognized in law as matters of treaty obligation. The United States participated actively in the elaboration of these covenants, and in explaining the U.S. votes in the General Assembly Ambassador Patricia R. Harris said:

> The United States voted in favor of each covenant and of the Optional Protocol to the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights because we believe that the United Nations must move forward in the field of human rights if it is to fulfill the promise of the Charter to promote and encourage "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."
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> . . . . .
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> Our affirmative votes do not, of course, express our agreement with or approval of every part of the covenants.

The Civil and Political Covenant sets forth a number of rights which states undertake to respect and insure upon becoming Parties. These include the rights of the individual to life, liberty, and security of person; to freedom from slavery, torture, and arbitrary arrest; to fair trial and privacy of person; to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; to freedom of opinion, information, and assembly; to participation in government; and other related rights.

This covenant also contains, in article 20, a provision calling for the prohibition by law of war propaganda and "advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence." The United States voted against this article in 1963, when it was adopted in the Third Committee, because of its implications in the light of U.S. constitutional guarantees of free speech. At the 21st General Assembly Ambassador Harris renewed the U.S. objection to this article on the occasion of the U.S. vote on the covenant in the Third Committee:

> One of the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the covenant is freedom of speech. It is the view of the United States that article 20 of the covenant does not obligate a state to take any action that would prohibit its citizens from freely and fully expressing their views on any subject, no matter how obnoxious they may be or whether they are in accord with government policy or not. The United States Supreme Court has emphasized the distinction between "advocacy of abstract doctrine and advocacy directed at promoting unlawful action." In our view, therefore, a state should not act under article 20 unless the dissemination of the obnoxious ideas mentioned therein is accompanied by, or threatens imminently to promote, illegal acts. Under our law, there must be an imminent danger of illegal action before speech becomes unlawful. We have similar problems with articles 19 and 21, which fall below the standards established by our Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights includes such rights as the right to work under favorable labor standards; to form trade unions; to benefit from social insurance; to enjoy certain safeguards for the family including social benefits before and after childbirth; to have adequate food, clothing, and housing; to achieve "the highest attainable standard of physical and mental

health"; to receive the opportunity for an education; and to share in scientific, artistic, and literary attainments. In view of the nature of the rights involved, Parties undertake only to take steps "with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of the rights recognized in the present Covenant by all appropriate means, including particularly the adoption of legislative measures."

In the first article of each covenant it is stated: "All peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law."

In 1966 a further article was adopted in the implementation section of each covenant providing that "nothing in the present Covenant shall be interpreted as impairing the inherent right of all peoples to enjoy and utilize fully and freely their natural wealth and resources." The United States opposed the addition of this article as unnecessary and confusing and stated that the provision in article 1 should be regarded as governing.

Article 2, paragraph 3, of the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights raises various questions. It says: "Developing countries, with due regard to human rights and their national economy, may determine to what exent they would guarantee the economic rights recognized in the present Covenant to non-nationals." The United States opposed the discriminatory nature of this provision as well as certain unfortunate implications which could be drawn from it. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Harris, stated in the General Assembly on December 17 that:

> Thus formulated, the text runs contrary to many existing treaties and is inconsistent with generally recognized principles of international law. International law and specific treaties recognize the right of states to make appropriate distinctions with regard to non-nationals in certain respects. This right is clearly recognized for all states, regardless of their stage of economic development, and finds expression in numerous constitutions and laws in both developing and developed countries.
>
> Article 2, paragraph 3, also appears to imply that there is no standard of international law and practice on which an alien may rely, whereas there is in fact a standard of law binding on all states. Confusion on this point could stand in the way of international cooperation in every phase of economic and social development.
>
> For these reasons, we must firmly reject the implications of article 2, paragraph 3.

The Third Committee devoted a major portion of its sessions during 1966 to the drafting of implementation provisions for the two covenants. Because the rights set out in the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights are to be implemented progressively, the Committee adopted a system for states to submit to the U.N. Economic and Social Council periodic reports on the measures they have adopted. On the other hand, since the Civil and Political Covenant calls for immediate implementation, provision is made in it for a committee, chosen by the Parties to the covenant, to receive reports from states Parties and to hear and conciliate disputes between Parties which have recognized the committee's competence for this purpose. (The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination contains a similar complaint mechanism, but the competence of the committee is compulsory for Parties.) The Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights permits a Party to recognize the competence of this same committee to consider also communications from individuals within its jurisdiction who allege that their rights have been violated.

Each covenant specifies that ratification by 35 states will be necessary to bring it into force. Ratifying states must be members of the United Na-

tions or its specialized agencies, parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice, or be invited by the General Assembly to adhere to the covenants. Neither covenant contains any provision on reservations; therefore, any party may make reservations which are compatible with the purpose of the covenant.

Human Rights Commission

DISCRIMINATION AND MINORITIES

The Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities held its 18th session in New York in January 1966. Dean Clarence Clyde Ferguson of Howard Law School was the U.S. expert on the Subcommission. Judge Vieno Voitto Saario of Finland, the Special Rapporteur for the Study of Discrimination Against Persons Born Out of Wedlock, presented his draft report. He stressed its essentially legal nature since such discriminatory treatment is generally embodied in the law itself. After discussing various aspects of his draft, the Subcommission invited him to submit a final report to its 1967 session.

The Subcommission discussed a progress report on the Study of Equality in the Administration of Justice. It also decided to initiate the Study of Racial Discrimination in the Political, Economic, Social and Cultural Spheres approved in 1965, with Hernán Santa Cruz of Chile as Special Rapporteur. He agreed to prepare a provisional plan of work during 1966. The Subcommission also considered the first series of periodic reports on civil and political rights developed under the new 3-year cycle of reports established by ECOSOC in 1965. The discussion centered on procedural questions, in particular the use to be made of nongovernmental organization reports. A debate on the substance of the reports was postponed until the 19th session.

RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE

The Commission on Human Rights held its 22d session in New York in March 1966. Morris B. Abram represented the United States. The Commission continued its preparation of a draft international convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Religious Intolerance, and completed five more articles covering the parental right to determine the religion of the child (article 4); measures to combat religious prejudice (article 5); measures to prevent and eliminate discrimination on the ground of religion and belief (article 6); guarantees of equality before the law regardless of religion or belief (article 7); and guarantees of effective protection and remedies against acts of discrimination on the ground of religion or belief contrary to the convention (article 10). Because anti-Semitism was felt by many to be the prototype of religious intolerance, the United States and several other delegations supported specific mention of it in article 5, which provides in part:

> "States Parties undertake to adopt immediate and effective measures, particularly in the fields of teaching, education, culture and information, with a view to combating prejudices as, for example, anti-Semitism and other manifestations which lead to religious intolerance . . . ."

The Commission decided to postpone consideration of articles 8 and 9 of the draft convention but to give the highest priority at its 23d session to the completion of the draft convention.

WAR CRIMES AND CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY

The question of the punishment of war criminals and of persons who have committed crimes against humanity had been placed on the

agenda of the 21st session of the Commission at the request of the Polish Representative. In accordance with a resolution adopted by the Commission at that time, the Secretary-General submitted to the 22d session of the Commission a study on the question of the nonapplicability of statutes of limitation to war crimes and crimes against humanity. Some of the members of the Commission stressed that the conscience of mankind demanded the prosecution and punishment of persons guilty of crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. In this regard it was pointed out that no limitation should apply to the prosecution and punishment of such crimes.

There was divided opinion on whether a principle already exists in international law that statutes of limitation do not apply to crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. It was generally agreed that this question was most important, and that the Commission should undertake preparation of a convention to resolve the problem. There was also general agreement that such a convention should address itself solely to the procedural question of statutes of limitation and not deal with the definition of such crimes, extradition of persons charged with such crimes, or the actual punishment of such criminals. The Commission, therefore, recommended a draft resolution to ECOSOC which would invite the Commission to prepare at its 23d session as a matter of priority a draft convention to the effect that "no statutory limitation shall apply to war crimes and crimes against humanity, irrespective of the date of their commission." This resolution was subsequently adopted by ECOSOC at its 41st session.

VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS

In 1965 the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Committee of 24) adopted a resolution drawing the attention of the Human Rights Commission to evidence submitted to it concerning alleged violations of human rights in territories under Portuguese administration, in South-West Africa, and in Southern Rhodesia. ECOSOC took note of this and in a resolution adopted March 4, 1966, at its 40th session, asked the Commission to consider the question of "the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and segregation and of *apartheid* in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories."

The particular phrasing of the resolution adopted by ECOSOC was the subject of considerable discussion with those supporting it pointing out that the reference to "all countries" coupled with the terms "including" and "with particular reference to" were necessary because no artificial restriction of the Commission's competence to a specific category of countries could be justified. Certain delegations, including the United States, pointed out that by this resolution the Council had assigned to the Commission a new role exceeding its previously recognized range of competence.

In a resolution of March 25, 1966, the Commission condemned all violations of human rights, wherever they occur, and decided that in order to deal completely with the question of such violations it would be necessary to consider the means by which the Commission might be more fully informed of violations, with a view to devising measures to stop them.

At its 41st session ECOSOC welcomed the Commission's decision to review its role in relation to violations of human rights and approved a resolution on the subject of violations. On October 26, 1966, by a vote of 85 (U.S.) to 2, with 17 abstentions, the General Assembly adopted a similar

resolution which, among other things, invited ECOSOC and the Commission on Human Rights "to give urgent consideration to ways and means of improving the capacity of the United Nations to put a stop to violations of human rights wherever they may occur."

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

At the 22d session of the Human Rights Commission in March 1966, Costa Rica submitted a draft resolution which provided for the election by the General Assembly of a U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights to assist in furthering the realization of human rights, to advise and assist the Commission on Human Rights and other U.N. organs, and to render assistance to governments at their request. The Commissioner as envisaged would report to the General Assembly through ECOSOC.

Representatives on the Commission who supported the Costa Rican initiative noted that the international community had failed to provide adequate machinery for the protection of the rights enunciated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the opinion of some, the proposal for a High Commissioner represented a modest and preliminary step to remedy this situation. On March 25 the U.S. Representative, Morris Abram, described the functions proposed for the High Commissioner:

> A High Commissioner could render many services to the Commission on Human Rights, other U.N. bodies, and to member states without duplicating responsibilities and tasks already assigned. He could apply his expert knowledge to assist interested governments in establishing institutions, such as the Ombudsman. He could also maintain information about the status of ratification and implementation of human rights conventions, and he could advise appropriate national authorities about more effective use of such instruments. He could assist the Secretary-General on request, as an intermediary in inflamed situations. He might, for example, be useful to U.N. committees dealing with problems in dependent territories. He could collate the vast amount of information submitted on human rights and formulate fruitful generalizations about human rights situations throughout the world.
>
> I believe, however, that the High Commissioner should be established with essentially advisory authority. More precise jurisdiction can be explored after governments have had experience in working with him. Experience will no doubt demonstrate some areas in which his mandate should be expanded and others in which it should be limited. As time passes, the High Commissioner may by common consent come to occupy a place and play a role which cannot now be forecast.

A few representatives opposed the High Commissioner proposal on the grounds that many human rights conventions already contained adequate provisions for their implementation and that the elaboration of additional instruments was the proper means of promoting human rights. Some also objected that the Costa Rican proposal was too vague and that many of the functions envisaged in the proposal were already performed by existing U.N. bodies.

After much debate the Commission adopted a resolution establishing a 9-state working group to study the Costa Rican proposal and to report to the Commission at its 23d session. The resolution also requested the Secretary-General to prepare an analytical and technical study of the proposal to assist the working group. The United States was selected as one of the nine members; the U.S.S.R. Representative had opposed the High Commissioner proposal and refused to join.

The working group met for the first time in June and discussed the nature of the study to be undertaken by the Secretary-General. It agreed that the study should consider all relevant questions concerning the institution of a High Commissioner taking into account other proposals that had been made during the debate in the Commission. The study, which was subsequently published December 30, 1966, provided a comprehensive

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analysis of the debate in the Commission, the institutional implications of the proposal, and existing or proposed implementation machinery.

PERIODIC REPORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS

In accordance with the new 3-year cycle for reporting by topic, the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Periodic Reports of the Human Rights Commission had before it replies in the first series, civil and political rights, submitted by 25 governments. Some of these had already been considered in the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (see page 145). The Committee appointed a Rapporteur to prepare a summary based on the materials received, including comments from interested nongovernmental organizations in consultative status.

In considering this summary some delegations believed that the number of available reports was too small to allow any conclusions to be drawn; they also attacked the role of nongovernmental organizations in the submission of reports. Others expressed the view that the summary showed how significant trends could be identified. The reports submitted by the nongovernmental organizations were defended as a necessary complement to the picture of human rights presented in the governmental reports.

To counter the doubts that had been expressed by the Subcommission on the use of nongovernmental organization reports, the Commission adopted a resolution advising the Subcommission to include in its initial study "all the information received" under the periodic reporting system. Further, it requested the Secretary-General to make available to the Subcommission, the *Ad Hoc* Committee, and the Human Rights Commission, one week before the beginning of the session of each body, the materials received from nongovernmental organizations together with the comments on them by member states.

In a second resolution prepared by the *Ad Hoc* Committee, the Commission encouraged governments to include in their reports material relating to difficulties encountered in achieving the standards proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; found that there had been "limited but significant progress" in some countries in the field of civil and political rights; emphasized the value of objective information received from nongovernmental organizations; and decided to continue its study and evaluation of information received in the field of civil and political rights.

Status of Women Commission

DRAFT DECLARATION ON DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

The first draft for a U.N. Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women was completed in March 1966 by the Commission on the Status of Women at its 19th session in Geneva. The General Assembly had requested the preparation of such a declaration in 1963. A committee draft prepared in Tehran during the 18th session of the Commission and a revised draft offered by the Ghanaian Representative were used as the basis for discussions.

The draft declaration affirmed that the full and complete development of a country requires the maximum participation of its women, and declared that discrimination based on sex is fundamentally unjust and an offense against human dignity.

Although there was divergence of view on how principles should be expressed, the areas of discrimination themselves were clearly recognized. Regardless of the cultural back-

ground or region from which they came, the members were able to reach unanimity on the final text. Since strict adherence to existing law could have reduced the declaration to the lowest common denominator, the United States and many others placed great emphasis on the importance of preparing a document that looked to the future.

The Commission decided to incorporate many of the provisions on political rights, nationality, free consent to marriage, equal pay for equal work, and equal opportunity in employment and education already accepted in U.N. conventions relating to women.

The Commission drew on its own extensive studies of law and practice throughout the world, particularly in formulating provisions on the right to equal dignity and equal consideration in the family. The draft text called for abolition of child marriage and affirmed the principle of equality, both during marriage and at its dissolution, including equal rights and duties for both parents in relation to their children. In a statement of support, the U.S. Representative, Mrs. Gladys Tillett, noted that the fact that marriage is a partnership should be reflected in family and property law.

In contrast to the 1965 draft, which had been addressed largely to governments, the articles developed in the 1966 session recognized the various rights as inherent in the individual and called on all responsible agencies, nongovernmental as well as official, for aid in their implementation. The United States had advocated this wider approach in 1965, without success, and actively supported its adoption in 1966 when proposed by the Ghanaian Representative.

The unanimous agreement on the draft declaration was the highlight of the session. The Commission recommended the text to ECOSOC for transmission to and final action by the General Assembly. In its 41st session in July, ECOSOC reviewed the draft together with amendments offered by India and others, including several in the field of family law. Further amendments were offered in the General Assembly. Since the Assembly did not have time to consider the draft during its 21st session, it returned the draft to the Commission for possible revision in the light of the proposed amendments, with a view to prompt consideration at the 22d Assembly.

CIVIC AND POLITICAL RIGHTS

As usual the Commission also considered measures for the progress of women with respect to political rights, employment, education, and family law. It noted that new countries entering the United Nations had in almost all cases already granted women full political rights, and that progress was being made in other countries where women had been denied the right to vote. However, available information on the actual participation of women in public life indicated that much remained to be done to make women aware of their civic opportunities and responsibilities. Commission members emphasized the importance of the new series of seminars on civic and political education of women, approved in 1965, which would be initiated in Finland in 1967 along lines originally proposed by the United States. The Commission also decided to publish a consolidated report on provisions in constitutions, electoral laws, and other legal instruments relating to political rights of women together with information on their practical effect.

LONG-TERM PROGRAM FOR ADVANCEMENT

The Commission gave extensive consideration to plans for a long-term program for the advancement of women to be started in 1968 as part of the celebration of International

Human Rights Year. This program will provide an organized statement of international resources and national self-help methods which governments can use to encourage greater participation by women in national life. It will include such fields as the conquest of illiteracy, education, vocational and professional training, public service and civic leadership, community development, home and family welfare, health, and other aspects of social and economic progress.

The Commission had before it a report by the Secretary-General that described measures for the advancement of women which are currently in use by both governments and private organizations and analyzed the gaps in these international resources. Nongovernmental organizations, whose comments had been requested, pointed out that basic resources are often lacking and that many governments give low priority to developing projects to meet the needs of women. Pointing out that the countries most in need of such programs are usually those least able to finance them, the Ghanaian Representative introduced a resolution, later approved by ECOSOC, urging the establishment of a nongovernmental fund, supported by public concerns, private organizations, foundations, and individuals, which would provide interest-free loans to assist national programs.

By a vote of 11 to 0, with 8 abstentions, the Commission also adopted a resolution on family planning, introduced by the United States, which emphasized that educational information is a basic human right essential to protect the health of the mother and the welfare of the children. The U.S. Representative referred to President Johnson's statement that stressed the need for practical ways of coming to grips with the problem of the population explosion both nationally and internationally.

Many representatives expressed satisfaction that the 1966 women's seminar, to be held in Manila in December (see page 152), would center on "Measures Required for the Advancement of Women with Special Reference to the Establishment of a Long-Term Program." There was also appreciation for the new publication, *Resources Available to Member States for the Advancement of Women.*

At its 41st session in July 1966, ECOSOC approved the Commission's recommendations for the long-term program with certain modifications designed to assure full effective cooperation with other U.N. bodies.

EMPLOYMENT AND EDUCATION

The Commission heard reports from the ILO and UNESCO on employment and education of women. It made plans for future study of various labor problems, including the situation of domestic workers and the repercussions of scientific and technical progress on the employment of women. It noted with satisfaction that UNESCO was undertaking a long-term program for the advancement of women through their access to education, science, and culture.

ROLE OF THE NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

The Commission on the Status of Women has long been an effective channel for communication and cooperation between member states and interested nongovernmental organizations in consultative status. Some 40 women's groups have usually participated in its sessions and have provided much information on problems under consideration in the Commission, often as the result of careful study by their local and national affiliates. The question of their role arose in the 1966 session in connection with the system of periodic reports through which developments on all

aspects of human rights are presented to the responsible U.N. bodies.

The United Kingdom introduced a draft resolution which proposed that the nongovernmental organizations be invited to increase their contributions. The draft was vigorously opposed by the U.S.S.R. and other Communist delegations, all of whom have regularly objected to nongovernmental participation as presently provided by the United Nations. The United States, which had cosponsored the U.K. proposal, pointed out that many nations rely on the views of nongovernmental organizations to help illuminate all aspects of a problem. Although Communist members abstained on portions of the U.K. resolution, the debate was successful in winning general support for it so that the final vote was 20 to 0 in its favor.

Human Rights Year

The 17-member Preparatory Committee for the International Conference on Human Rights met in May and June to discuss plans for the Conference, scheduled as part of the celebration of 1968 as the International Year for Human Rights. The Committee adopted a draft agenda for the Conference calling for (1) a review of progress made and an identification of major obstacles encountered in the field of human rights since the adoption of the Universal Declaration; (2) an evaluation of the effectiveness of the methods and techniques employed in the field of human rights at the international and regional levels; and (3) the formulation and preparation of a human rights program to be undertaken subsequent to the International Year for Human Rights.

On December 19 the General Assembly took note of the work of the Preparatory Committee, enlarged it by six members, asked it to continue its work, and accepted the invitation of the Government of Iran to hold the Conference in Tehran, preferably during the spring of 1968. In the same resolution the General Assembly adopted a lengthy series of recommendations for special commemorative activities and measures. These recommendations were addressed to the Secretary-General, U.N. member states, the specialized agencies, and other organizations having an interest in the promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Slavery

At its 41st session in 1966, ECOSOC considered a report on slavery submitted by Dr. Mohamed Awad, the Special Rapporteur appointed pursuant to a 1963 Council resolution. This report reviewed the world situation with regard to slavery since the completion of an earlier report in 1955 and the adoption of the Supplementary Convention on Slavery in 1956.

Some 75 governments and several nongovernmental organizations contributed information which indicated that slavery no longer exists as a legal institution within states that are members of the United Nations. However, the report mentioned allegations of illegal trading in slaves even though official evidence was not available. Two governments did recognize the existence within their territory of slavery-like practices which they affirmed could only be eradicated through agricultural reform and social change.

The Rapporteur proposed that ECOSOC establish a committee of experts to advise on measures to eradicate slavery. ECOSOC decided against such a committee and referred the question of slavery in all its manifestations "including the slavery-like practices of *apartheid* and colonialism" to the Commission on Human Rights.

Advisory Services in the Field of Human Rights

SEMINARS

The U.N. program of Advisory Services in the Field of Human Rights sponsored four seminars in 1966. Three were held on a regional basis with one each in Africa, Europe, and the Far East. The fourth, a special seminar on the topic of *apartheid,* was held in Brasilia, Brazil, from August 23 to September 4.

The first regional seminar in 1966 was held in Dakar, Senegal, February 8–22, on the topic of human rights in developing countries. The United States was represented by an observer delegation led by Mercer Cook, the U.S. Ambassador to Senegal. Discussion centered on such problems as the rights of the individual, the right to own property, freedom of information, the right to participate in political activities, and the right to education.

Morris Abram, U.S. Representative on the Commission on Human Rights, led an observer delegation to the European regional seminar in Budapest, June 14–27. This seminar was on the subject of participation in local administration as a means of promoting human rights.

Mrs. Gladys Tillett, U.S. Representative on the Status of Women Commission, led an observer delegation to the Far Eastern seminar in Manila, December 6–17. This seminar dealt with the measures required for the advancement of women, with special reference to the establishment of a long-term program. The participants discussed a broad range of political and social measures and made a number of practical suggestions directed to the evaluation and solution of the needs and problems of women.

The fourth seminar, that on *apartheid,* was initiated by the General Assembly at the request of its Special Committee on the Policies of *Apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa. Twenty-nine countries from all parts of the world participated. The United States was represented by Deputy Assistant Secretary of State David H. Popper. The participants discussed the nature of *apartheid,* its effects on international relations, and national and international measures that could be taken for its elimination.

The report of the seminar, containing 30 conclusions and recommendations, has been cited in subsequent U.N. discussions of *apartheid.* The first conclusion of the seminar participants, adopted unanimously, condemned the policy of *apartheid* pursued by South Africa saying that it is "a racial tyranny and constitutes a flagrant denial of fundamental human rights." It was also agreed that *apartheid* contravenes the provisions of the U.N. Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Declaration and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination.

Other generally agreed recommendations called for greater coordination among the anti-*apartheid* organizations, future international conferences to explore ways of overcoming *apartheid,* and assistance to the fighters against and victims of *apartheid.* The U.S. participant, joined by those from Argentina, Japan, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom, could not accept the conclusion, however, that *apartheid* constitutes a threat to international peace and security. There were certain additional conclusions that the United States and others could not support, such as a call for mandatory universal sanctions against South Africa. It was agreed, however, that dialogue and negotiations with South Africa have not thus far been an effective means of eliminating *apartheid.*

ELLOWSHIPS

As a result of the financial demands of an unusually heavy seminar schedule, the fellowship program for study and observation in the field of human rights was only about half the size originally planned. Twenty-eight member states in all regions and at all levels of economic development proposed 91 candidates for the 28 awards available. The U.N. Secretary-General noted in a report to the Commission on Human Rights:

> There is a continuing interest in the protection of human rights in various aspects of the administration of justice, and a growing demand for awards dealing with legal aid and advice, with the role of the police and of the public prosecutor, and with the protection of the rights of children placed for adoption, children born out of wedlock, and juvenile delinquents.

During 1966 the U.S. Department of State and other agencies of the government helped to develop study programs for several U.N. fellows in the field of human rights. Among them was the first fellow from the U.S.S.R., Dean Vladimir Sokurenko from the Law Faculty of Lwów in the Ukrainian S.S.R. Dean Sokurenko was interested in the "advancement of human rights in the formulation and implementation of economic and social legislation." After spending some time in Washington he visited law schools in Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Indianapolis, and New York in order to observe legal education in the United States.

Specialized Agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)

Recognizing the vital need for international capital to help reconstruction after World War II and to raise living standards and productivity, particularly in the less developed areas of the world, the United States in concert with over 40 other nations established the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) in 1944. Since that time, the IBRD has grown to a membership of 105 nations with authorized capital of $24 billion, making it the largest multilateral provider of financial assistance in the world. The United States subscribes $6,350 million or 28 percent of the total subscribed capital of $22.6 billion.

The IBRD's primary function is to provide loans where private capital is not available on reasonable terms to finance development projects and programs designed to raise the level of productivity and to stimulate economic growth in its member countries. It also furnishes a wide variety of technical assistance. The IBRD derives its lending resources principally from borrowings in private capital markets. Its outstanding funded debt at the end of 1966 was $2,869 million. The IBRD also derives funds from the sales of parts of its loans (totaling $1,990 million at the end of 1966), repayments of principal, and income from operations.

By December 31, 1966, the IBRD had made 485 loans to 79 countries for a total of $10,204 million. IBRD loan commitments in 1966 were $891 million and gross disbursements were $782 million. Almost 70 percent of the IBRD loans have been to developing countries, mostly for projects in the fields of electric power, transportation, industry, and agriculture.

As needs for development finance have changed and become more acute, the IBRD and its affiliated institutions have directed their policies and operations accordingly. The IBRD has maintained its reputation as a prudent financial institution and, therefore, its ability to borrow in private capital markets. At the same time it has enjoyed a flexibility of policy that makes it responsive to the growing needs of the developing countries for long-term assistance. For example, a total of $200 million of the IBRD net income has been recommended for transfer to the International Development Association (IDA) in the form of grants and $100 million has been loaned by the IBRD to the International Finance Corporation (IFC).

Although the IBRD standard interest rate for developing countries was raised from 5½ to 6 percent during 1966 to reflect the higher cost of the IBRD's own borrowings, more advanced countries which can satisfy most of their capital needs from financial markets are charged up to 1 percent more by the IBRD. Increased emphasis has been given to agriculture, education, and industry, and the IBRD technical assistance activities continue to expand, particularly in sector development and project preparation.

In conjunction with those efforts, the IBRD exercises leadership in promoting coordination between developed and developing countries. It has established close working relationships with other members of the U.N. system by cooperating with the Food and Agriculture Organization and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to promote agricultural and educational development. It also acts as executing agency for some of the preinvestment projects financed by the UNDP.

In 1966 the IBRD sponsored the formation of two new consultative groups—for Peru and Korea—bringing to eight the number of such groups which coordinate assistance activities for individual developing countries. During the year it presided at meetings for all eight groups. It will continue to establish new groups as the need arises. The IBRD sponsors consortia for assistance to India and Pakistan and administers the Indus Basin and Nam Ngum Development Funds.

In October the Convention on the Settlement of Investment Disputes entered into force. The Convention provides for the establishment, under IBRD auspices, of machinery for voluntary conciliation or arbitration of disputes between governments and foreign investors.

During the past year the IBRD continued its research and analysis on topics such as development finance and external debt, and completed major studies for UNCTAD on measures of supplementary financial assistance to the less developed countries and tapping the resources of private capital markets for relending at lower rates of interest to the developing countries. Through these and other efforts the Bank group continues to expand and refine its significant contributions to the growth and understanding of the international community.

International Finance Corporation (IFC)

The IFC was established in 1956 as an affiliate of the IBRD to assist the industrial development of its less ad-

vanced member countries. The IFC furthers investment in productive private enterprises through subscriptions to capital stock, through combinations of stock subscriptions and loans, and through loans with equity or other special features. It invests in association with private investors when sufficient private capital is not available on reasonable terms.

The IFC has 82 members and an authorized capital of $110 million, of which $100 million has been subscribed. The United States subscribes 35 percent of the total capital stock. In 1965 member governments approved amendments to the Articles of Agreement of the IFC and the IBRD which enable the IFC to borrow up to approximately $400 million from the IBRD for relending to private enterprises without government guarantee. In 1966 the IBRD made its first $100 million loan to IFC under that authority. The new resources will enable the IFC to assist more capital intensive industries and to diversify its activities.

The IFC has been given increased responsibility for enhancing the effectiveness of the World Bank group (IBRD, IFC, and IDA) in financing industrial development. The IFC now acts for the group in the technical and financial appraisal, preparation, and supervision of industrial and mining projects. The IFC is the main World Bank group instrument for dealing with private industry and development finance companies. Its activities may lead to IFC investments, IBRD loans, IDA credits, or a combination of these. The IFC acts as a catalyst in financing projects jointly with other investors; on the average, the latter have provided $4 for every $1 invested by IFC.

By the end of 1966 the IFC had made 131 investments and standby and underwriting commitments totaling $192 million, of which more than 90 percent were for developing countries. About $54 million of commitments were made in 1966. Cumulative disbursements total $133 million.

International Development Association (IDA)

By 1960 there was a growing number of less developed countries that needed and could make use of additional capital, but that were accumulating excessive debt servicing burdens. To help meet that situation, and largely in response to a U.S. initiative, the IDA was established as an affiliate of the IBRD. The IDA provides development credits on terms designed to impose far less burden on the balance of payments of borrowing countries than those for conventional loans. The IDA has the same management and staff as the IBRD, operates on similar principles, and provides financing for the same general range of projects. The favorable terms on which IDA lends often permit the extension of credits to countries which could not prudently assume the burden of payment for an IBRD loan; some of those countries receive only IDA credits while others are able to receive a blend of IDA and IBRD types of financing.

IDA has a membership of 96 countries with subscriptions and supplementary resources totaling the equivalent of about $1.75 billion. Eighteen members, comprising the more industrially advanced (Part I) countries, make their entire contributions in gold or convertible currencies, all of which may be used for lending. The less advanced (Part II) members pay only one-tenth of their contributions in gold or currencies usable for lending. Initial usable subscriptions totaled approximately $780 million.

With IDA's resources nearing depletion, Part I countries agreed in 1964 to provide it with an additional $750 million over a 3-year period be-

ginning in 1965. The U.S. share is $632.29 million or about 42 percent of the total Part I member contributions. IDA resources have been augmented by special contributions from Sweden, by the release in convertible currency of some Part II member local currency portions of their subscriptions, and by grant transfers totaling $200 million from the IBRD net income.

By the end of 1966 IDA had made 100 credits to 36 developing countries, totaling $1,649 million. Commitments in 1966 totaled a record $457 million and disbursements were $273 million. Credits have been principally for projects in the fields of transportation, industry, and agriculture.

In anticipation of the continuing need for development assistance of the type provided by IDA and the rapid exhaustion of its resources, the President of the World Bank group in 1966 proposed a further substantial replenishment of the IDA funds through the provision of supplementary contributions by Part I member countries. By the end of 1966, IDA resources remaining available for commitment totaled just over $100 million. President Johnson has indicated U.S. readiness to increase its contributions to the IDA in ways consistent with its balance-of-payments policy and conditional upon appropriate rises in contributions from other members.

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

The policies and operations of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) play an important role in the world economy, and the United States fully supports its purposes. At the end of 1966 the IMF had 105 members with quotas amounting to $20,647 million, of which the U.S. quota was $5,160 million (25 percent). Quota increases, providing for a general increase of 25 percent, together with larger increases for 16 countries (not including the United States), became effective in February 1966.

The resources of the IMF are supplemented by the General Arrangements to Borrow, which were renewed for a period of 4 years from October 1966. Under these Arrangements, which became effective in 1962, the main industrial countries (Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Sweden, U.K., U.S.) undertake to lend to the IMF specified amounts of their currencies up to the equivalent of $6 billion, if needed to forestall or cope with an impairment of the international monetary system. The U.S. commitment amounts to $2 billion.

In 1963 the IMF had established a compensatory financing facility designed to assist less developed countries meet threats to their economic development efforts caused by fluctuations in their export earnings. In 1966, pursuant to further studies of the possibilities in this respect undertaken pursuant to a resolution of the first UNCTAD Conference, the IMF liberalized this facility to permit drawings by less developed countries for this purpose up to 50 percent of their quotas, compared with 25 percent under the previous arrangements, and made other technical improvements.

Since it first made use of IMF resources in 1964, the United States has drawn a total of $1,640 million. Because of dollar drawings by other countries, however, net drawings by the United States at the end of 1966 amounted to $905 million. About two-thirds of the U.S. drawings have been made in currencies which it has sold to other countries wishing to make repayments to the IMF. These "technical" drawings allow such countries to make repayments to the IMF without converting their dollars into gold. In 1966 the United States drew from the IMF the equivalent of $680

million in foreign currencies which were used directly and indirectly to reduce foreign dollar holdings.

The United States has supported an important role for the IMF in connection with arrangements being negotiated to strengthen the international monetary system through the establishment of a contingency plan for the deliberate creation of reserve assets. Negotiations on this matter were called for by the United States in July 1965, and the first phase was completed in 1966 when the Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors of the countries participating in the General Arrangements to Borrow (the "Group of Ten") reached agreement on a number of basic principles. Since November 1966 the negotiations have been centered in joint meetings between the Deputies of the "Group of Ten" and the Executive Directors of the IMF.

Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)

The Food and Agriculture Organization has two broad purposes: (1) to serve as a clearinghouse for the assembly and exchange of information and to provide international and regional forums for discussion of common problems; and (2) to give technical advice and assistance to the developing countries in the fields of agriculture, fisheries, forestry, nutrition and home economics.

The main FAO governing body, the Conference, did not meet in 1966. However, the FAO Council, which is composed of 31 countries and is the governing body between sessions of the biennial Conference, met October 17–28 in Rome. The U.S. Delegate to the Council was Mrs. Dorothy H. Jacobson, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture. Among other things, the Council discussed the state of food and agriculture, the Indicative World Plan, and the U.N./FAO World Food Program. It decided to move ahead with an interagency study on food production resources in agricultural development.

Three FAO regional conferences were held in 1966: the FAO regional conference for Asia and the Far East was held in Seoul, Korea, September 15–24; the conference for Africa was held in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, November 9–19; and the conference for Latin America was held in Punta del Este, Uruguay, December 5–17. The regional conferences provide a forum in which agricultural leaders can discuss agricultural economic problems of common concern, and give advice on the conduct of FAO's work in the respective regions.

INDICATIVE WORLD PLAN

The Indicative World Plan, designed to find a solution to the basic agricultural problems of the developing countries, was a major activity of FAO during 1966. The elaboration of the Indicative World Plan is being approached from two directions: (1) commodity by commodity on a worldwide scale, to clarify the problems of and prospects for international trade; and (2) by geographical regions, to consider production possibilities in depth, within the framework of balanced economic growth. The resulting commodity projections have been sent to countries for study and comment. Two regional studies, *Near East* and *East Africa,* were completed in 1966. The study of the west coast region of South America is well advanced and is expected to be completed in 1967. The results of each approach will be combined in the Indicative World Plan, which will be presented in its first integrated version in the summer of 1968.

GERM PLASM RESOURCES

The 13th session of the FAO Conference, in 1965, directed FAO to survey ways and means of preserving and

making more effective use of plant and animal germ plasm, or genetic resources. Such action is important to insure that valuable strains are identified, adequate provisions are made for the preservation of strains in danger of being lost, and programs are developed to utilize available animal, crop, and forest genetic resources more fully in the service of man. This is an appropriate task for FAO since it involves much intercountry cooperation. On the other hand, it is not intended that FAO should be the action agency but rather that it should encourage and facilitate action by FAO member governments.

Owing to the complexities and difficulties of such work with farm livestock and poultry, in November 1966 the FAO Director General convened a Study Group of experts to advise on the steps which might be taken by FAO and its member governments. The Study Group, chaired by Dr. Ralph W. Phillips of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, made a series of proposals to strengthen the efforts both of countries and of FAO to describe and evaluate animal genetic resources, to collate and publish such information for worldwide use, to determine the usefulness of types and breeds outside their native habitats, to make available simple standardized procedures that can be used in describing and evaluating animal genetic resources and the environments where animals are or may be used, and to encourage disease control programs and the development of quarantine facilities, thus facilitating the ready exchange among countries of breeding animals and semen.

LOSSES FROM PESTS

Losses from pests in the production, storage, transportation, processing, and marketing of both plant and animal foods are substantial. The developing countries recognize this but have not, in most cases, undertaken quantitative studies to determine the amount or percentage of loss. FAO has, therefore, started a program to guide and encourage member countries to make studies measuring losses from insects, diseases, nematodes, rodents, grain-eating birds, and weeds. The results should stimulate countries to undertake plant and animal protection measures with, where necessary, bilateral and multilateral assistance.

FORESTRY

The four Working Groups of the FAO/North American Forestry Commission (Forest Fire Control, Forest Insects and Diseases, Forest Genetics, and Forest Recreation and Wildlife) have continued their technical work, principally by correspondence. Three of the groups met during the year.

In response to a decision of the 13th session of the FAO Conference, the Director General of FAO formally set up the "FAO Committee on Forest Development in the Tropics," and invited the U.S. Government to become a member. This invitation has been accepted.

In 1966 FAO published and distributed the report "World Forest Inventory." This quinquennial report provides the only authoritative worldwide forest inventory statistics and an assessment of the forestry situation by principal geographic regions.

FISHERIES

During the year the United States continued its participation in fisheries-oriented programs of FAO. The following events were of particular importance to the United States.

On January 1, the Fisheries Division of FAO was raised to a department, thus increasing the importance of fisheries within FAO. The head of the Fisheries Department, Roy Jackson, a U.S. citizen, was appointed an Assistant Director General.

From May 2 to 14, representatives of the United States and 16 other

nations met in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, at the invitation of FAO, to negotiate a convention on the study and conservation of tuna in the Atlantic Ocean. This convention was signed by several of the attending nations and will enter into effect when ratified by seven nations. The convention covers the entire Atlantic Ocean, provides for the study and conservation of tuna and tuna-like fish (thereby providing for study of important sport fish such as billfish), and leaves enforcement of the convention to the authorities of each contracting state.

Representatives of the United States and 38 other countries met in Rome May 18–25 for the first international conference on pond fish culture. It was recognized that pond fish culture can be a significant contribution in alleviating local deficiencies of protein in less developed countries, and also can be of use in developed countries such as the United States by increasing the supply of such valuable shellfish as shrimps.

The first meeting of the FAO Fisheries Committee, created by the FAO Conference in 1965, was held in Rome June 13–18. The Committee, composed of high fisheries officials of 30 FAO member governments, will advise the Director General on fisheries matters within FAO's competence.

NUTRITION

As part of its effort to improve the diets of people, particularly children in developing countries, FAO's Nutrition Division has been deeply involved in the development and promotion of low-cost processed foods rich in proteins. Special attention has been given at conferences and in planning field programs to coordination of activities in the fight against malnutrition in children.

Two publications in 1966 of particular merit were the *Report of the Joint FAO/WHO Technical Meeting on Methods of Planning and Evaluation in Applied Nutrition Programs* and *Nutrition in Relation to Agricultural Production.*

Progress was made in meeting the request of European member governments to establish closer contacts in the field of home economics. A Working Party on Home Economics for Europe had its first session and was unanimous in recommending the establishment of an International Institute of Home Economics that would be concerned with training and research, and with the collection and dissemination of information and documentation.

FOOD STANDARDS

The fourth session of the Codex Alimentarius Commission (sponsored jointly by FAO and WHO) was held in Rome, November 7–14. This session was concerned with the progress of Codex Committees and other specialist bodies to which assignments had been made at previous sessions of the Commission for the promulgation of draft standards. A basic objective of the Commission is to simplify and harmonize international food standards work by (1) setting priorities in the development of standards, (2) coordinating and supplementing the work of other bodies in this field, and (3) providing for the preparation of draft standards at the government level and their publication in a consolidated *Codex Alimentarius.*

The Commission's work emphasizes the development of standards for a range of food products that are significant in international trade. These include sugars, fats and oils, processed fruits and vegetables, meats, and fish. The United States serves as chairman of three of the Codex committees: Processed Fruits and Vegetables, Food Hygiene, and Poultry and Poultry Meat Products.

PUBLICATIONS

FAO collected and published worldwide statistics on many aspects

of food production, distribution, and utilization; fisheries; forestry production and trade; and on the production and use of fertilizers.

FAO continued to publish yearbooks on agricultural production, trade, forestry, and fisheries as well as studies summarizing world statistics, giving the food balance picture, and summarizing the current situation regarding certain commodities. FAO also published and distributed a variety of other reports and studies on world food problems and new technical and economic findings.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

FAO has a relatively small allocation ($400,000 annually) in its regular budget for technical assistance financing. However, at the end of 1966 it was administering technical assistance funds amounting to approximately $55 million from the UNDP, UNICEF, and other sources. At the end of 1966, FAO was acting as executing agency for 225 UNDP projects and had approximately 1,460 experts assigned to various field projects.

WORLD FOOD PROGRAM

The World Food Program (WFP) was established in 1962 by the United Nations and the Food and Agriculture Organization as a 3-year experiment in multilateral food aid. During the 1963–65 experimental period, 70 nations pledged a total of $93.8 million ($68.9 million in commodities, $5 million in services, and $19.9 million in cash) toward a target of $100 million. Thirty-two emergency feeding operations and 116 projects for economic and social development were approved during the period.

For the experimental period the United States pledged $40 million in commodities. Commodities continued to be shipped against this pledge in 1966 and by the end of that year actual shipments amounted to $28.3 million.

In addition to its commodity pledge, the United States contributed $5 million in cash for administrative and operational costs, and 50 percent of the ocean transportation on commodities furnished by the United States and shipped on U.S. vessels. By the end of 1966 actual freight charges on U.S.-donated commodities that had been called forward for the 1963–65 period had come to $4.3 million.

After a review of WFP operations during the 1963–65 period, the U.N. General Assembly and the FAO Conference voted to continue the WFP on an indefinite basis and to adopt a goal of $275 million in resources for the years 1966–68. The United States pledged toward this goal: (1) agricultural commodities equal in value to those made available by all other contributing nations up to a ceiling of $92 million; (2) sufficient shipping services (estimated at $32 million) to transport U.S. commodities; and (3) up to $6 million in cash for administrative and operational costs subject to the condition that the U.S. share does not exceed 40 percent of total cash contributions. This total pledge, made in January 1966, was later amended to provide that the United States would match with commodities, not only commodity contributions of other nations, but cash contributions of other countries made after July 31, 1966, as well. The U.S. pledge was made subject to appropriate action by the Congress.

As of December 31, 1966, other nations had pledged a total of $51 million in commodities for the 1966–68 period. Under its matching proviso, the United States was committed to match these commodity pledges. Shipments in 1966 against this amount came to $1.3 million and consisted chiefly of wheat and wheat products, corn and corn meal, sorghum, dairy products, and vegetable oil.

The United States played a major role in the development of WFP and

continues to support it. The Food for Peace Act of 1966, which amended Public Law 480, states:

"It is the sense of the Congress that the President should encourage other advanced nations to make increased contributions for the purpose of combating world hunger and malnutrition, particularly through the expansion of international food and agricultural assistance programs. It is further the sense of the Congress that as a means of achieving this objective, the United States should work for the expansion of the World Food Program beyond its present established goals."

International Labor Organization (ILO)

INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

The International Labor Conference is the standards-setting body of the ILO. Member states are represented by tripartite delegations: one worker, one employer, and two government delegates, each with a separate vote. The 50th session, in June 1966, was attended by delegations from 106 of the 115 member states.

The Conference adopted international labor standards concerning fishermen and cooperatives and held preliminary discussions on grievance procedures and communications within the plant and on the revisions of prewar conventions on social security. Resolutions were adopted on industrialization, human resources, human rights, special youth problems, national labor departments, and worker participation in undertakings. The two on labor departments and youth problems were submitted by the United States. The Conference also took note of a special report on developments concerning *apartheid* in South Africa.

The Conference dealt with the ILO budget for 1967 and adopted a net expenditure budget of $22,472,-398 for calendar year 1967 as compared with $20,337,871 for 1966.

The drive for a major revision of the ILO scale of assessments to conform to the U.N. scale, begun in 1965, continued this year. Inasmuch as the maximum contribution (paid by the United States) is 25 percent on the ILO scale and 31.91 percent on the U.N. scale, and the minimum rate is 0.12 percent and 0.04 percent, respectively, on the two scales, there is wide support, particularly among the smaller contributors, for such a revision. The United States cannot agree to any increase in its assessment rate, however, as its present rate is at the ceiling set by Public Law 85–477 of June 30, 1958. After lengthy debate, the Finance Committee recommended, and the Conference adopted, a scale for 1967 that did not change the maximum or minimum rates. It did, however, request the Governing Body to give further study to a revision of the ILO scale and to submit a report to the next International Labor Conference.

In addition, the Conference took note of two reports of the Working Party on Program and Structure which had been established by the Governing Body in 1965 to develop suggestions for adapting ILO programs and structure to the needs of a rapidly changing world. One report dealt with conditions of life and work; the development of social institutions as major program areas; the objectives, scope, and content of such programs; and means for their implementation. The other report set forth the conclusions reached by the Working Party on the role, composition, and procedures of ILO industrial committees and analogous bodies, regional conferences, and regional advisory committees.

In the course of the Conference, elections were held for the Governing

Body, for the period 1966–69, and various advisory committees.

ILO GOVERNING BODY

The ILO Governing Body met four times during 1966. It also is tripartite, having 24 government members (the 10 states of chief industrial importance have automatic membership and 14 states are elected for 3-year terms by the government group of the Conference), and 12 employer and 12 worker members elected by their respective groups in the Conference.

The Governing Body reviews and recommends the ILO budget to the Conference; supervises the International Labor Office (secretariat); determines the agenda of the Conference; appoints, convenes, and reviews the work of various tripartite industrial committees, committees of experts, and other bodies; reviews complaints of alleged violations of freedom of association; and, generally, acts as the Board of Directors of the Organization. Following its election in June, the new Governing Body met to elect its officers and to organize its committees.

U.S. REPRESENTATION

George L-P Weaver, Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, Department of Labor, continued to represent the U.S. Government on the Governing Body in 1966. He was also chairman and one of the two government delegates on the delegation to the International Labor Conference. George P. Delaney, Special Assistant to the Secretary and Coordinator of International Labor Affairs, Department of State, was the other U.S. government delegate. Edwin P. Neilan, Chairman of the Board and President, Bank of Delaware, was the employer delegate; and Rudolph Faupl, International Representative of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, was the worker delegate. Messrs. Faupl and Neilan also are members of the ILO Governing Body, having been elected by the worker and employer groups of the Conference, respectively. Senators Gaylord Nelson and Paul J. Fannin and Congressmen Adam Clayton Powell, Frank Thompson, Jr., and David T. Martin served as congressional advisers. Congressman William H. Ayres, also named as a congressional adviser, was unable to attend because of the pressure of congressional affairs.

HUMAN RIGHTS

A resolution on the ILO's contribution to the International Human Rights Year was adopted by the Conference as an affirmation of the importance of the U.N. General Assembly's decision to call on the specialized agencies to devote 1968 to intensifying efforts in the human rights field. The resolution noted that a number of ILO conventions concerning basic human rights had been adopted, appealed to member states to ratify such conventions before 1968, and urged employers' and workers' organizations to help promote the objectives of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

It also recommended close cooperation with the United Nations and invited the Governing Body to: (1) review and assess ILO activities in the field of human rights; (2) consider the possibility of extending ILO standard-setting activities in this field; (3) provide technical cooperation and advisory services; and (4) consider the possibility of coordinating research and other activities into a significant concerted program and of allocating adequate financial resources and staff to carry it out.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

The United States has consistently supported the growth of ILO technical assistance activities. The activities financed from all sources—the UNDP, the regular ILO budget, and funds in trust—were about $17.8 mil-

lion in 1966. The geographical distribution of expenditures was: Africa 39.0 percent, Latin America 18.8 percent, Asia 20.8 percent, Europe 5.1 percent, Middle East 11.8 percent, and interregional projects 4.5 percent. More than half the technical assistance was in the general field of manpower, including vocational training. Other fields included productivity and management development, cooperatives and small industries, social security, occupational safety and health, worker education, vocational rehabilitation, rural development, and labor conditions and administration. The ILO continued to coordinate the Andean Indian Program, a multiagency project for the integration of the indigenous populations of several South American countries.

In order to strengthen its operational programs, the ILO continues to decentralize its activities and expand its network of field offices, placing them under the control of regional coordinators. This results in a greater administrative responsibility in the field.

STANDARDS DEVELOPMENT

The 1966 International Labor Conference adopted three conventions and one recommendation, bringing to 126 and 127, respectively, the number adopted since the founding of the ILO in 1919.

The convention on fishermen's certificates of competency provided for ratifying countries to establish standards of qualification for the certificates entitling a person to perform the duties of skipper, mate, or engineer on board a fishing vessel. It also provided that the minimum age to be prescribed by national laws or regulations for a certificate of competency should not be less than 20 years in the case of a skipper, 19 years in the case of a mate, and 20 years in the case of an engineer.

The convention on accommodation on board fishing vessels provided detailed standards for the requirements, planning, and control of crew accommodations aboard seagoing fishing vessels of specified length or tonnage.

The recommendation on the vocational training of fishermen concerns all training for work on board commercial fishing vessels in salt waters with certain specified exceptions. It lists specific types of training programs and the training standards to be used. It also provides for prevocational training in fishing communities and recommends international cooperation to promote training, particularly in developing countries.

The recommendation on the role of cooperatives in the economic and social development of developing countries proposes that cooperatives be established and developed (1) to improve the economic, social, and cultural situations of persons of limited resources; (2) to increase personal and national capital resources by the encouragement of thrift, by eliminating usury, and by the sound use of credit; and (3) to improve social conditions and supplement social services in such fields as housing, health, education, and communications. The various methods suggested to implement policy on cooperatives include legislation, education and training, and financial and administrative aid. An annex to the recommendation contains suggestions illustrating the use of cooperatives in the implementation of agrarian reform and in the improvement of levels of living.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

14TH GENERAL CONFERENCE

The most important UNESCO meeting during the year was the 14th

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General Conference, held in Paris, October 25–November 30, and attended by delegates from 120 member states including 60 ministers of education, scientific research, or culture.

The major purposes of the Conference were to approve the program and budget for the 1967–68 biennium and to discuss general policy issues. The Conference unanimously approved a gross budget of approximately $62.9 million, an increase of about $12.6 million over the previous biennial period. With the anticipated project approvals to be financed by the UNDP, UNESCO is expected to administer a total budget of about $122 million during 1967–68.

The activities in which the United States had a major interest, such as educational planning, oceanography, science teaching, and book production were strongly supported by the Conference. The United States was successful in winning approval for activities favoring the development of the social sciences as educational disciplines. The Conference also adopted a U.S.-supported proposal to define UNESCO's role in the overall U.N. effort in the field of family planning (see page 167).

In his opening speech, Dr. Charles Frankel, Assistant Secretary of State and chairman of the U.S. delegation, stressed the importance that the United States places on educational and cultural cooperation with other nations. He reiterated the long-term continuing U.S. commitment to educational cooperation and described several new initiatives the United States is launching, including (1) simplified visa procedures facilitating attendance by foreign guests at international educational and scholarly meetings in the United States; (2) passage of implementing legislation for the Florence and Beirut Agreements, which eliminate tariff and other barriers to the free flow of educational materials; and (3) the establishment in the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare of an American Education Placement Service, which, in his February 2, 1966, message to the Congress on the International Education Act, President Johnson said "will lead to the development of a World Teacher Exchange—in which all nations may join to bring their classrooms into closer relationship with one another."

Maintenance of Peace

UNESCO's role in the maintenance of peace was a major item at this General Conference. Preparations for consideration of the item began at a Conference of Experts at Bellagio, Italy, in May 1966. This was followed by a Round Table on Peace held during the first part of the Conference and participated in by former Directors General of UNESCO, former chairmen of the UNESCO Executive Board, and holders of the Nobel Peace Prize. The Round Table submitted a declaration to the Conference. This was considered, along with draft resolutions submitted by member countries, by an *ad hoc* working group whose task was to produce a single text. The final resolution, unanimously agreed upon by the working group, was adopted by acclamation in a plenary session of the Conference. Its operative section requested the Director General to recommend a concrete plan of action which UNESCO, alone or in cooperation with other U.N. agencies, could undertake to reinforce its contribution to peace, international cooperation, and the security of peoples by means of education, science, and culture.

Political Questions

As a result of a challenge to the credentials of the Republic of China delegation, the Conference on the second day of its session adopted by a roll call vote of 56 to 40, with 19 abstentions, a U.S. draft resolution that the Conference take no action on any

proposal to change the representation of China.

The U.S.S.R. and 11 other states, primarily African and Asian, submitted a draft resolution under an agenda item entitled "UNESCO's Tasks in the Light of the Resolutions Adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its Twentieth Session on Questions Related to the Liquidation of Colonialism and Racialism." The draft resolution (1) provided for withholding assistance from Portugal, South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia in matters relating to education, science, and culture, and (2) authorized the Director General not to invite them to attend conferences or take part in other UNESCO activities. The United States abstained on this resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 72 to 11, with 26 abstentions.

In 1965 the UNESCO Executive Board had decided that Portugal should not be invited to meetings held by UNESCO until there had been an investigation of the educational conditions in the Portuguese African territories. Portugal requested the UNESCO Executive Board to seek from the International Court of Justice (ICJ) an advisory opinion on the validity of this decision. The Executive Board voted to refer the Portuguese request to the 14th General Conference for disposition, pending which its previous decision to exclude Portugal from UNESCO-sponsored meetings would remain in force. The Legal Committee of the General Conference recommended that the question be referred to the ICJ, but the Conference as a whole rejected this recommendation and by a vote of 60 to 38 (U.S.), with 4 abstentions, decided that the Executive Board had the right to exclude Portugal from meetings called by UNESCO.

U.N. Development Decade

Fifty-two countries sponsored a resolution on the U.N. Development Decade which introduced into the UNESCO Conference many of the economic views of the less developed countries. The United States and most of the developed countries took the position that this was not the appropriate place for the consideration of such economic matters. An extended negotiation led to a final text embodying most, but not all, of the suggestions of the United States and other developed countries, but as we continued to believe that the topic was inappropriate for UNESCO, we abstained in the final vote by which the resolution was adopted, 68 to 0, with 14 abstentions.

Arabic as a Working Language

As a result of a drive by the Arab countries, the Conference approved measures that authorized (1) the selective use of Arabic as a working language of UNESCO, i.e., during the plenary sessions of the General Conference and at meetings of the Administrative and Program Commission; and (2) the translation into Arabic of the most important documents of the General Conference, beginning with the next (15th) session. The resolution also invited the Director General "to study the measures necessary to give Arabic progressively the same status as the four other languages" of UNESCO and to report to the 15th General Conference on this subject.

EDUCATION

Throughout 1966 the United States continued to participate in the educational activities of UNESCO in a number of significant ways.

The UNESCO–ECLA Conference of Ministers of Education and Ministers Responsible for Economic Planning in Latin America held in Buenos Aires, June 21–28, 1966, was attended by a delegation of eminent U.S. educators and government officials. The delegation supported the concept of responsible planning for education,

within the framework of broader economic and social development plans, as an essential element in the development of education in Latin America.

The United States also participated in the Conference of Ministers of Education and Ministers Responsible for Economic Planning in the Arab States held in Tripoli, Libya, April 9–14, 1966, where the importance of quality in education was emphasized.

A number of U.S. educators served as consultants on UNESCO's programs, and others attended UNESCO meetings of experts in such fields as higher education, literacy, educational finance, and school building construction.

The United States played a leading role in two very important meetings in 1966 from which emerged a historic Recommendation on the Status of Teachers. The first of these meetings was the Joint ILO–UNESCO Meeting of Experts on the Status of Teachers held in Geneva, January 17–28, 1966. The U.S. Representative served as chairman of a drafting committee which prepared a draft recommendation on the status of teachers. At an Intergovernmental Conference held in Paris, September 21–October 5, 1966, the recommendation was unanimously adopted and now stands as a model set of guidelines for raising the economic and social status of teachers to the level of other professionals, thus benefiting education as a whole.

UNESCO and the International Association of Universities established a project that promises to bring about realization of U.S. hopes for the development of higher education in Asia. A committee composed of representatives of both organizations, after a 2-year joint research study which identified forms of potential regional cooperation among a number of institutions of higher learning, proposed the establishment in Bangkok of an autonomous Institute of Higher Learning in Southeast Asia. The Institute, which will be financed from several public and private sources, will be able to assist in the development of urgently needed post-secondary educational systems suitable to the highly diverse physical, economic, ethnic, and cultural characteristics of Southeast Asia.

NATURAL SCIENCES

Following the completion of reports on science policy and organization in a number of advanced countries, UNESCO in 1966 undertook a series of three small regional meetings at which these subjects were discussed. One, held in Czechoslovakia, included participants from 11 Eastern and Western European countries plus the United States. Another, held in Argentina, brought together experts from 13 Latin American countries. A third was held in Algeria and brought together experts from the Arab states. U.S. observers were present at the meetings in Argentina and Algeria.

The purpose of the meetings was to explain and define science policy as a means of providing guidance to the developing countries in the organization of their efforts for improved development. The United States believes that these meetings will provide useful guidance to many of the countries in the planning and use of resources provided by the United States for technical development programs.

The UNESCO science teaching program moved ahead with the completion of the active phase of the chemistry pilot project in Thailand. This project brought together 20 key chemistry teachers from 14 Asian countries and engaged them in creative experimental work on chemistry teaching materials which they, in turn, can develop further within their own countries.

Preparatory work started on a biology pilot project to be located in Africa. At present 21 African states have decided to participate in this project in 1967–68. The United

States has been supporting these activities by providing technical advice and samples of teaching materials developed in this country.

Interest in the cooperative oceanographic studies being promoted by the International Oceanographic Commission continued to increase and additional countries became members of the IOC. In June 1966 the Second International Oceanographic Congress was held in Moscow. It received major support from UNESCO and was attended by nearly 2,000 marine scientists from 57 countries. Also, after getting off to a good start in 1965, the International Hydrological Decade continued to attract interest from countries in all areas of the world. The interest of developing countries in hydrological problems is illustrated by the agreement reached among four African countries to carry on a study of the Chad River Basin using UNDP funds. Both Federal agencies and American private organizations having programs in these fields have a genuine interest in assisting such cooperative efforts in oceanography, hydrology, and seismology.

SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNESCO continued to pursue several broad social science objectives in 1966 which were promoted and supported by the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, such as the maintenance and expansion of international cooperation among social scientists, the promotion and development of social science teaching and research, and the application of the social sciences to specific problems, in particular those relating to social and economic development.

In 1966 UNESCO entered the new field of population growth and family planning, a step strongly advocated by the United States. For the first time, the UNESCO General Conference adopted a work plan authorizing the appointment of a special committee to advise the Director General on UNESCO's competence to help solve problems of overpopulation, particularly by (1) carrying out sociological studies on social, cultural, and other factors influencing attitudes toward family planning, and (2) providing facilities for the exchange of sociological research and knowledge in the field of family planning.

CULTURE

In 1966 the United States continued to take part in UNESCO's three main areas of cultural activity: encouragement of creative activity, preservation of the cultural heritage, and the dissemination of culture.

Americans were again prominent in the nongovernmental organizations that carry out a significant portion of these programs. It is noteworthy that two of these organizations held their international congresses in the United States in 1966—the International Council on Archives, in May, and the International PEN, in June. Both congresses brought a large number of influential professional people to this country, many of them for the first time. Relationships established with their American colleagues will in many cases provide useful and continuing channels for the exchange of ideas and information. Americans also went abroad to a number of expert meetings sponsored by UNESCO. For example, the United States was represented at a meeting of experts on the national planning of library services held in Quito in February.

American Negro artists were prominent among the participants from 30 countries represented at the first World Festival of Negro Arts at Dakar in April 1966. The Festival was sponsored by the Government of Senegal, the African Society of Culture, and UNESCO. Americans were active in all phases of the program—in the UNESCO roundtable discus-

sions, theater, music, dance, and exhibitions.

An American participated in an expert meeting at UNESCO to consider possibilities of arranging, by means of international exchanges, for the reconstitution of dismembered works of art, whose parts may be dispersed in different countries.

Two Americans attended a roundtable on Cultural Films in the South Pacific, convened jointly by UNESCO and the Australian National Commission, in Sydney in July. The group consisted primarily of anthropologists and film-makers.

The U.S. Deputy Register of Copyrights participated in the Inter-American Meeting of Copyright Experts held in Brazil in July.

Another cultural activity of great and continuing interest to the United States is the project for the preservation of the monuments in the Nubian region of the United Arab Republic that are threatened with destruction as a result of the construction of the Aswan High Dam. Work has proceeded satisfactorily. In particular, marked progress was made in the preservation of the two great temples of Abu Simbel, toward which the United States contributed the equivalent in Egyptian pounds of $12 million, or one-third of the total cost. Work was completed in dismantling and moving the temples to the new site, and reconstruction is underway.

MASS COMMUNICATIONS AND FELLOWSHIPS

During the past year the United States deposited formal instruments of ratification of two significant UNESCO-sponsored agreements designed to remove unnecessary man-made barriers to the free international movement of educational, cultural, and scientific materials.

These two agreements, the "Agreement on the Importation of Educational, Scientific and Cultural Materials," also known as the Florence Agreement, and the "Agreement for Facilitating the International Circulation of Visual and Auditory Materials of an Educational, Scientific and Cultural Character," commonly known as the Beirut Agreement, were adopted by UNESCO largely on U.S. initiative. Passage of implementing legislation for these two Agreements by the 89th Congress opened the door for full U.S. participation and gave substance to the U.S. policy of increasing the free flow of information and educational and cultural materials throughout the world. U.S. educational institutions in particular will benefit from this action because educational, scientific, and cultural materials produced abroad will now be made available to them duty free. In like manner, American materials of a similar nature will have easier access to other countries.

In mass communication, UNESCO continued in 1966 to pursue the following priority work which the United States has urged: development of information media, training in their own countries of media personnel, and encouraging the use of mass communication techniques in out-of-school education. Experts were provided to developing countries to assist them in setting up or expanding their information media. Member states were encouraged to send participants to a series of seminars and formal courses of instruction at the various regional training centers supported by UNESCO. Pilot projects to demonstrate the usefulness of audio-visual media for adult education were expanded in Senegal and in Poland. U.S. observers attended a meeting convened by UNESCO in Bangkok on broadcasting in the service of education and development in Asia. The meeting concluded that the role of radio and television should be an inherent part of regional planning for social, educational, and economic development. The meeting emphasized the need for low-cost radio and television receivers, increased training facilities, and international cooperation in program exchange.

A UNESCO-convened meeting of experts on book production and distribution in Asia was attended by representatives of the U.S. Government and the American publishing industry. The meeting designed a short- and long-range program for book development in Asia. Its central recommendation was that book production and distribution should be a planned and integrated component of each nation's overall development effort.

During the past year, 85 leaders, specialists, and students visited the United States under UNESCO auspices, financed by UNESCO travel grants and fellowships. The great majority of these grantees came from Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

U.S. NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR UNESCO

1966 was the 20th anniversary of the founding of UNESCO. A Presidential proclamation commemorating that occasion stressed the continued U.S. support of the organization in its efforts to create a climate in the world in which a just peace may prevail. Many State Governors also issued proclamations honoring UNESCO and urging support for its aims. The National Commission encouraged universities and national nongovernmental organizations to undertake commemorative activities. A number did so, and several commemorative international scholarships were offered.

The Commission undertook an intensive reevaluation of UNESCO programs and objectives during the 20th anniversary year. Its National Conference, held in New Orleans, September 18–20, considered education, science, and culture for developing countries; world cooperation for population control; and the strengthening of international institutions and organizations. The Conference developed specific recommendations to be made to American institutions and to the U.S. Government with regard to these matters.

The National Commission was represented at the 14th General Conference of UNESCO by its chairman, Dr. Thomas Malone, and by Ambassador William Benton, U.S. member of the Executive Board.

During the year, the Commission also began a reevaluation of its own structure and operations in order to increase its effectiveness in making UNESCO known to the American people, in bringing the resources of American organizations and institutions to the support of UNESCO objectives, and in advising the U.S. Government on UNESCO policy.

The National Commission has made a concerted effort to help relate the specific work of individual American voluntary organizations and educational institutions to the general objectives of the UNESCO Constitution. One project in this connection was the joint PTA–NEA Department of Classroom Teachers UNESCO Study Project through which the 2,500 local PTA Councils may sponsor UNESCO study sessions for their members. The National Commission is providing guidance and materials for this effort.

In 1966 the Commission sponsored the production of "The Minds of Men," a 30-minute film on UNESCO. The prints of this film, on deposit in the Department of State and in film libraries in many states, have been shown on television and to local school, civic, and religious groups.

Preparation began for a Commission-sponsored seminar on UNESCO's role in the teaching and dissemination of international law to be held during 1967.

World Health Organization (WHO)

A high point of the year for WHO was the completion of its own build-

ing in Geneva and its dedication during the 19th World Health Assembly in May 1966. The building houses a headquarters staff of slightly over a thousand persons, and a computer which will enable the organization not only to expedite its administrative operations but also to store a large volume of health data that can be readily retrieved as required.

In a statement to the Assembly on May 5 Dr. William H. Stewart, Surgeon General of the U.S. Public Health Service and chairman of the U.S. delegation, drew attention to the achievements of WHO and the great potential for improved world health through continued international cooperation. He reminded the Assembly that more than a billion people are now protected from malaria—77 percent of the estimated 1,635 million living in originally malarious areas (excluding mainland China, North Korea, and North Viet-Nam where data are unavailable). From 1965 to 1966 the number of those protected increased from 885 million to 1,200 million. As goals for the foreseeable future, Dr. Stewart singled out the eradication of smallpox, the elimination of yellow fever, and the provision of adequate water supplies to all communities.

COMMUNICABLE DISEASES

In most countries 1966 was a year of preparation for the worldwide smallpox eradication campaign to be launched in 1967. WHO helped several countries, including Guinea, Mali, and China, to develop supplies of freeze-dried vaccine, and it helped others, such as Afghanistan, Nepal, and the Sudan, to make the transition from a program of smallpox control to one of eradication. In Togo, however, the organization concluded its assistance. Although in 1962 there had been 575 cases of smallpox, in 1965 there were only 9. Over a million people out of a population of 1.6 million have now been vaccinated. The local health services in Togo will carry on and complete the smallpox campaign on their own.

Yellow fever was under attack in Africa and the Americas. With assistance from the Pan American Health Organization (the WHO regional organization), the United States and other American nations continued their efforts to eradicate the mosquito vector of urban yellow fever. In Burma, field tests were carried out by WHO in cooperation with the Burmese Government to find more effective methods of eliminating the vector. As the result of an epidemic in Senegal at the end of 1965—the first outbreak of the disease in that part of Africa since 1953—WHO conducted a study on the ecology of yellow fever in West Africa, introduced a system to speed up notifications of the occurrence of the disease, and advised health authorities on measures to be taken whenever a case occurred.

During 1966 WHO assisted some 30 countries in anti-tuberculosis programs. It provided the supplies for a Syrian national pilot project on tuberculosis control. During 1965–66, 50 Syrian workers were trained, 6,400 children were vaccinated, and 6,300 adults were X-rayed. Elsewhere, a WHO team completed a 2-year epidemiological survey on tuberculosis in five countries of West Africa and submitted recommendations for further development of control programs that had been initiated on the advice of the team.

Again in cooperation with UNICEF, which provided the supplies, WHO provided technical personnel for Iraq in a continuing campaign against trachoma that had effectively reduced the incidence of the disease among 817,000 persons examined from 46.2 percent in 1963 to 24.8 percent in 1965. More than 150 medical and health specialists were trained, and 13 communicable eye disease centers were established in provincial capitals. At least eight

other countries, among them the Sudan, Algeria, and Thailand, also received WHO assistance in problems of eye diseases.

In 1966 WHO maintained a cholera control team ready to move into any area where an outbreak might occur. This team assisted Iraq and other Asiatic countries suffering epidemics during the year. In addition, WHO conducted courses in cholera control in the United Arab Republic, Lebanon, India, and the Philippines for health officers from North Africa and Asia.

In cooperation with FAO, WHO organized at Nairobi, Kenya, a seminar on sleeping sickness that considered problems of epidemiology and developments in research, control, diagnosis, and the organization of services. The seminar was attended by 30 persons in charge of health programs in 17 African nations.

CHRONIC DISEASES

An important milestone in the study of cancer was the establishment by the 19th World Health Assembly of the International Agency for Research on Cancer. The Agency is supported by equal contributions from eight countries—Australia, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States—and is headed by an American. Its initial work has been directed toward the establishment of additional cancer registries throughout the world, and the complete and accurate mapping of the epidemiology of the disease on a global basis. When this is achieved it will permit the identification of specific areas suitable for further investigation.

In other activities on cancer, a WHO-supported study in Uttar Pradesh, India, confirmed a relationship between cancer of the mouth and betel nut and tobacco chewing. Work continued on an 8-nation study of the relationship between cancer of the breast and breast feeding. The population groups selected for study were chosen to distinguish among those with a high, medium, and low incidence of the disease.

With respect to rheumatoid arthritis, a working group met in Copenhagen during the year and approved a standard form for the submission of data that will insure comparability of results from the various studies carried out on the prevalence of this disease.

In New Zealand, cooperative studies on cardiovascular diseases were undertaken to obtain comparable data on conditions among the Maoris and among the inhabitants of certain South Pacific islands. Similar studies were also carried out in Uganda, Nigeria, Brazil, and Venezuela.

ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH

In the field of environmental health WHO provided assistance to 135 country programs as well as a number of regional projects.

Consultants from the Pan American Health Organization advised several Latin American countries on problems relating to sewerage, sewage treatment, and disposal of industrial waste, and made an investigation and report on beach pollution at Montego Bay in Jamaica. In the Near East, WHO provided a sanitary engineer to help Lebanon survey its sanitation problems and to train personnel, and in Africa it trained 35 health assistants in Burundi as sanitarians.

The development of community water supplies was the major objective in 83 projects and a component in most of the others in the field of environmental health. WHO conducted feasibility studies and gave advice on both the engineering and the management aspects of water supply systems. WHO maintained close relationships with the lending agencies such as IBRD and the Inter-American Development Bank, which provided funds to the countries concerned for capital investments. Such projects in 1966 were carried out in

Afghanistan, Thailand, Malta, and the Euphrates Valley.

Other environmental health projects included assistance to Iran in air pollution control; surveys of health conditions in Ghana, Afghanistan, and the Lower Mekong Basin in connection with UNDP-financed projects for agricultural and water resources development; assistance to Morocco in the prevention of water pollution as the result of waste from a sugar factory; and a study, in conjunction with a UNDP project in Poland, directed toward protecting the waters of the Vistula and Oder from pollution.

DEVELOPMENT OF MEDICAL MANPOWER AND HEALTH SERVICES

Some 2,576 fellowships were awarded for study and 547 for participation in meetings such as the Third International Conference on Medical Education held in New Delhi in November 1966 and cosponsored by WHO and the World Medical Association. A total of 265 professors, lecturers, and other teaching staff were assigned by WHO to medical schools and similar institutions in 60 countries. Staffing assistance of this kind, which had been given to Makerere College, University of East Africa, during the past 10 years, ended in 1966; the responsibility for continuing the training program in pediatrics and child health services has since been assumed by the University itself and by the Government of Uganda.

In the field of nursing, assistance was given to 55 countries, largely for education and training. For example, workshops were held in Jamaica for 45 senior nurses and 24 supervising officers of health units and hospitals to promote their in-service training program. Over the past 5 years WHO has assisted the Sudan in organizing nurses' training, including the establishment of the nurses' college in Khartoum from which 150 professional nurses have graduated. WHO supervised the development of a curriculum guide for nurses' training, which has been widely distributed and used throughout India, and supported national seminars in Finland, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Denmark for the study of nursing service administration and the preparation of nurses for research work. Another project completed during 1966 was that of WHO assistance to nursing education in Turkey; this work has now been taken over by a school established in Ankara.

WHO has helped almost 80 countries to develop and improve their health services. In Brazil it established the Mato Grosso Health Foundation to provide statistical services and training facilities; in Thailand it set up courses in medical records technology for personnel from the countries of Southeast Asia; in Malaysia it trained over 60 medical records officers in a program that began in 1963. WHO advised Colombia on the reorganization of its Ministry of Health and advised Algeria and the Congo in organizing local health services.

HEALTH PROMOTION

In addition to its work against disease, WHO engaged in a variety of activities designed to improve the general level of health and well-being. For example, it assisted both Tunisia and Cambodia in establishing maternal and child health services. In a related field, it continued its research on human reproduction, reaffirmed the action taken by the 18th World Health Assembly authorizing the Director General to provide, at the request of governments, advisory services on the medical and health aspects of family planning, and sponsored several scientific meetings for the consideration of various aspects of sterility and fertility control methods.

The WHO field staff concerned with improving nutrition increased from 10 in 1963 to more than 60 by the end of 1966. Much of the work in

this field was done in cooperation with FAO and UNICEF. WHO worked with FAO in the development of sanitation standards for meat, fish, milk, frozen foods, and related products. It assisted in training courses in Kenya for meat inspectors from countries of Africa and the eastern Mediterranean region, and it helped Trinidad and Tobago to establish a program on nutrition which included the training at 10 health centers of public health nurses and food inspectors.

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

As in former years, much of WHO's research was directly related to the problems encountered in the field programs for the control and eradication of disease. For example, WHO continued its work at Ibadan, Nigeria, on the immunology of tropical diseases, such as sleeping sickness which is widely prevalent in Africa.

At least one American was a member of each of the 21 expert committees that met during the year to consider such topics as alcohol and drug dependency problems and the safe use of pesticides. The Expert Committee on Biological Standardization formulated international requirements for 11 biological substances, bringing to over 160 the total number of international standards, reference preparations, and reference reagents published by WHO. These standards provide guidance to those responsible for protection and control of biological substances (such as insulin), in order to secure uniform quality throughout the world and to facilitate the exchange of biological standards among countries.

Over 30 meetings of research and scientific groups were convened by the Director General of WHO, including one in Washington, D.C., at which some 200 medical and health specialists considered the present status of various vaccines to determine their efficacy in disease prevention.

Among WHO's publications during 1966 was *Histological Typing of Lung Tumours,* the result of a 6-year study at the WHO Reference Center in Oslo. This was the first in a series to be published on the international classification of tumors. During the year there were 34 publications in the technical report series, 7 new monographs, and 7 public health papers. Among nonserial publications were a *World Directory of Post-Basic and Post-Graduate Schools of Nursing* and a *World Directory of Schools of Pharmacy.*

International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)

AIR PASSENGER LIABILITY LIMITATION

The Special ICAO Meeting on the Limits of Liability for Passengers under the Warsaw Convention and the Hague Protocol, held at ICAO Headquarters in Montreal in February 1966, considered proposals for increases in the limits of liability which an air carrier may invoke in the event of death or injury to a passenger in air transportation. Under the 1929 Warsaw Convention, which is applicable to most American citizens traveling in international air transportation, the limit is $8,300. Under the 1955 Hague Protocol to that Convention, which the United States has not ratified, the limit was increased to $16,600.

Although no agreement was reached on any specific increase, the delegates voted to recommend to the ICAO Council that a conference be called to consider four proposals ranging from $33,200 to $74,700, including legal costs. The meeting also expressed the hope that before such a conference the U.S. Government would withdraw its notice of denun-

ciation of the Warsaw Convention, which had been filed on November 15, 1965, to become effective May 15, 1966.

Prior to this effective date, however, the major foreign and U.S. airlines, in conjunction with the International Air Transport Association, worked out a compromise arrangement to increase voluntarily their limits of liability to $75,000 and to adopt a system of absolute liability, i.e., waiver of defenses under article 20 of the Warsaw Convention. On May 14, 1966, the U.S. Government withdrew its notice of denunciation.

On June 27 the ICAO Council approved the composition and terms of reference of a Panel of Experts to conduct a further study of the limits of liability for air passengers. John H. Wanner, former General Counsel and now consultant to the U.S. Civil Aeronautics Board, was appointed to serve on this Panel.

EUROPEAN-MEDITERRANEAN REGIONAL AIR NAVIGATION MEETING

The Fifth European-Mediterranean Regional Air Navigation Meeting of ICAO, held at Geneva in February 1966, had the largest attendance of any ICAO regional air navigation meeting held in the 20 years of the organization's existence. Representatives attended from 34 ICAO countries (including the United States) which are members of the region, 1 other ICAO member country, 5 countries not members of ICAO, and 8 international organizations.

This region, one of eight for which ICAO draws up detailed plans of air navigation facilities and services, is characterized by a high density of airports, air routes, and facilities; a large number of political entities in a relatively small area; a large amount of both civil and military air traffic; and unfavorable flying weather. As the European area is particularly vulnerable to rapidly changing airport surface conditions due to snow and slush, the meeting was concerned with methods for snow and ice removal, the measurement of runway braking action, and procedures for rapid distribution of information on the condition of runways and other airport pavement areas.

The meeting also devoted considerable time to the further integration and coordination of air traffic services among the countries in Europe. It assessed the progress made in (1) the consolidated planning for the upper airspace by countries members of the European Organization for the Safety of Air Navigation, (2) the use of secondary surveillance radar, (3) the coordination of military and civil air traffic, and (4) the advancement in the use of automation for air traffic control.

In order to enable meteorological offices to meet the demands of increased air traffic, the meeting agreed to the establishment of an area forecast system and recommended improvements in the exchange of data via the European meteorological operational telecommunications network. As one of its main tasks in the field of aeronautical fixed telecommunications, the meeting undertook to insure that the new point-to-point communications network, scheduled for introduction in 1967, would be adequate to handle the increasing load of messages.

AERONAUTICAL INFORMATION SERVICES AND AERONAUTICAL CHARTS DIVISIONS

Two ICAO divisional meetings, to which all member countries are invited, were held during 1966 at ICAO headquarters.

The second combined divisional meeting concerned with aeronautical information services and aeronautical charts took place during April and May. It made recommendations for obtaining greater implementation of ICAO Annexes 4 and 15 (Standards and Recommended Practices for Aeronautical Charts and Aeronautical Information Services). It also suggested changes in the annexes to

provide the flexibility needed to take advantage of future technological developments, recommended intergovernmental cooperation in chart production, and recognized that two or more countries may jointly issue aeronautical information publications.

COMMUNICATIONS AND OPERATIONS DIVISIONS

The Communications/Operations Divisional Meeting, held in the fall of 1966, was attended by 40 nations and 6 international organizations. It dealt with new techniques, developments in equipment, procedures for allocating radio frequencies, and methods of handling communications traffic.

The meeting decided to ask the U.S. Government to make available for evaluation by ICAO the technical data which will be obtained from two very high frequency aeronautical communication experiments which will be conducted with satellites to be launched within the year. Further, ICAO member countries were encouraged to participate in any trials in an operational environment which may be conducted in addition to the U.S. experiments, but it was pointed out that the characteristics of any trial system should be without prejudice to those to be selected by ICAO for a future operational system.

Other matters considered by the meeting included a new kind of distance measuring equipment, provisions for different categories of instrument landing systems, standards for single sideband system characteristics designed to provide optimum use of the high frequency radio spectrum for aeronautical mobile communications, and automatic data systems.

CARIBBEAN REGIONAL AIR NAVIGATION MEETING

The Fourth ICAO Caribbean Regional Air Navigation Meeting, held in Mexico City at the end of 1966, revised the ICAO regional plan for that area to meet the new requirements of aviation during the coming years. Attention was given to the need for increased facilities at airports in view of the scheduled introduction of jumbo jet and supersonic transport aircraft. The revised plan for radio navigation aids in the region is based on the use of high-powered nondirectional radio beacons for long distance air navigation, and the use of very high frequency omnidirectional radio ranges and distance-measuring equipment for short distance air navigation. Other recommendations of the meeting concerned the recasting of the Aeronautical Fixed Telecommunications Network, further development and integration of the area forecast system with Miami as the Area Forecast Center, and realignment and adjustment of the boundaries of Flight Information Regions. The meeting also set definite target dates for individual countries to complete their installation of the air navigation facilities and to initiate the services called for in the regional plan.

Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO)

IMCO continued its excellent record of cooperation and accomplishment in maritime technical matters during 1966. In addition to its regular work program, which had already been scheduled and was accomplished without serious delays, it successfully met a new and major challenge posed by disastrous fires on passenger ships at sea by completely rewriting and upgrading the fire safety standards applicable to passenger ships under the Convention for Safety of Life at Sea.

Following the "Yarmouth Castle" disaster on November 13, 1965, dur-

ing a cruise from Florida, the United States called for amendment of the Convention at the earliest possible time in order to minimize the risk of such occurrences in the future. The IMCO Maritime Safety Committee responded promptly by arranging a special meeting in May to be devoted exclusively to this problem. This gave sufficient time for the formulation of U.S. proposals and consideration of these proposals by other governments before the meeting.

At the May meeting the Committee adopted a series of recommendations having to do with the installation of fire-resistant bulkheads, sprinklers, and construction of ships with noncombustible materials which were satisfactory to the United States, and also took account of the advice and concern of other leading maritime safety experts. An extraordinary session of the IMCO Assembly was then called for November, allowing only the 6 months that the Safety Convention provides for governments to consider proposed amendments. The Assembly approved a series of new rules for existing ships as well as those to be built in the future and recommended implementation of the rules as soon as possible and before they legally enter into force.

Aside from passenger ship fire safety, IMCO's most important accomplishment of the year was the successful International Load Lines Conference held in March and April 1966. This conference dealt with the freeboard of ships, i.e., the extent to which their hulls may be submerged. New shipbuilding techniques, particularly the introduction of safe, watertight hatch covers, now make it possible to reduce freeboard, at least for some ships. The Conference drew up a new Load Lines Convention, replacing the Convention of 1930, which will have significant economic effects, notably by increasing the cargo that large vessels can carry. The U.S. acceptance of the convention was signed by the President on November 4, 1966, and deposited with IMCO on November 17.

During the year IMCO continued its work in a variety of fields, including stability of fishing vessels, radio communication, visual signals, navigation in congested areas, fire test procedures, lifesaving appliances, the handling of dangerous goods, tonnage measurement, and marine pollution.

International Telecommunication Union (ITU)

During 1966 the ITU, in addition to its usual functions, was actively engaged in implementing the decisions of the 1965 Plenipotentiary Conference at Montreux, Switzerland.

ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

The Administrative Council, with a complete new membership of 29 countries, met in Geneva from May 9 to June 3, 1966. The United States was represented by C. Hoyt Price, Director, Office of Telecommunications, Department of State. The Council scheduled a World Administrative Conference on Maritime Mobile Service Matters for September 1967 and agreed in principle to hold a Regional Administrative Conference for Latin America in October 1967.

In order to improve ITU effectiveness in technical cooperation activities, the Council called for (1) a closer collaboration with the U.N. Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development, and (2) an accelerated transfer to developing countries of available knowledge on telecommunications.

Acting on a decision of the 1965 Plenipotentiary Conference, the Council established a Study Group of 10 experts from member governments to prepare a draft ITU Constitutional Charter and General Regulations to be approved in 1971 at the next Plenipotentiary Conference. William Watkins, Assistant Chief Engineer, U.S. Federal Communications Commission, is one of the 10 experts. If adopted, the Charter will replace the present Convention and eliminate the need for renegotiation and reratification every 6 years.

The Council also prepared its *Fifth Report to the United Nations on Telecommunications and the Peaceful Use of Outer Space* and its regular annual report to ECOSOC as a U.N. specialized agency.

The Administrative Council approved an ITU budget of 21,369,000 Swiss francs for 1967. After taking into account other income of the ITU, the assessed contributions by the member states amounted to 20,325,000 francs. The U.S. share is 11.68 percent, or 2,376,000 francs (approximately $550,000).

EXTRAORDINARY ADMINISTRATIVE AERONAUTICAL RADIO CONFERENCE

The second session of the Extraordinary Aeronautical Radio Conference, held in Geneva in February 1966, prepared a Revised Frequency Allotment Plan for the Aeronautical Mobile Service. It was attended by 56 countries and its final act, in the form of partial revision of the Radio Regulations, was signed by 51 delegations, including that of the United States. The agreement will enter into force on July 1, 1967; however, the Frequency Allotment Plan itself will not come into force until April 10, 1970, to allow for worldwide coordination of the frequency changes involved.

The Conference adopted a number of resolutions designed to reduce congestion in the high frequency bands, in particular by a conversion from double sideband to single sideband and by the use of very high frequencies. A recommendation was adopted that member states study the possible application of space radio communication technology on major air routes.

INTERNATIONAL FREQUENCY REGISTRATION BOARD (IFRB)

In 1966 the IFRB continued its task of registering frequencies assigned to radio services of ITU member countries. The Board prepared the technical data required for the African Low Frequency/Middle Frequency Broadcasting Conference, held in Geneva in September 1966, and worked with the International Radio Consultative Committee to prepare recommended designations for radio emission. It also organized a seminar at Geneva on Frequency Management and Usage which was attended by 44 ITU member countries.

INTERNATIONAL RADIO CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE (CCIR)

Ninety-seven member countries of the ITU attended the 11th Plenary Assembly of the CCIR at Oslo in July 1966. An American, J. W. Herbstreit, was elected Director of the CCIR for a 6-year term beginning September 1966. Mr. Herbstreit was formerly Deputy Director of the Institute for Telecommunication Science and Aeronomy of the Environmental Science Services Administration, Department of Commerce.

One of the most important questions discussed at Oslo was the adoption of a worldwide standard for color television. The United States pressed for adoption of one system; France and the U.S.S.R. supported a different system; and Western European countries generally favored a third system. It proved impossible to arrive at an agreement.

The United States supported measures adopted by the Committee for protecting the synchronous orbit in the satellite communication service. The United States also supported arrangements for frequency sharing between satellite and terrestrial communications service. In other important decisions the U.S. stereophonic broadcasting system was one of two systems recommended for worldwide use, and provision was made to study a newly developed U.S. selective calling device before recommending a system for use in the Radio Maritime Service.

The technical needs of developing countries were given major attention at the Assembly, which approved the preparation of handbooks on Monitoring Services and Tropical Broadcasting Services. The Assembly also took steps to insure that technical publications of the CCIR would be edited so as to be of maximum use to these countries. Further, the Director of CCIR was instructed to arrange seminars on appropriate subjects for the benefit of engineers from developing countries.

INTERNATIONAL TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE (CCITT)

The United States took part in most of the 13 CCITT study groups which met during the year. These groups made significant advances in the development of automatic and semiautomatic telegraph and telephone networks, and substantial progress on telegraph message retransmission, worldwide telex, and the gentex routing plan. Leased circuits for both the telephone and telegraph service were also dealt with.

JOINT CCIR-CCITT PLAN COMMITTEE

Two regional committees of the Joint Plan Committee—the one for Europe and the Mediterranean Basin and the one for Asia and Oceania—held meetings in 1966. Each assembled information on communications requirements within its own region for the years 1970 to 1975. Plans were studied for networks in Europe, with special reference to automatic and semiautomatic telephony, and projects were considered for telecommunication by satellite and for building earth stations in the Oceania region.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

ITU's activity as UNDP executing agency in the telecommunications field increased in 1966. ITU experts took part in the East African Regional Meeting of Resident Representatives of the UNDP and in the Joint ECA–OAU meeting at Addis Ababa. They assisted in establishing regional training facilities for English-speaking East African countries and analyzed the need for a preinvestment survey of East African telecommunications that had been requested by 11 countries of that area.

Asian and Far Eastern regional ITU experts continued their studies of regional networks and regional training projects and also participated in meetings of ECAFE and UNESCO. In Latin America, the regional experts concentrated on projects in individual countries and assisted several governments in the Central American and Caribbean area in formulating their requests to the UNDP for assistance during 1967.

Work continued on the development of 13 training centers or institutes, notably in the Philippines, Malaysia, Sudan, Iraq, and India. During the year the ITU had about 75 experts in UNDP field posts; several Americans were selected to fill these positions.

As part of the ITU technical cooperation program, the United States during May 1966 sponsored a seminar in Washington on Communication

Satellite Earth Station Technology. It was attended by officials of 45 countries and 7 international organizations. Its purpose was to acquaint developing countries in particular with basic knowledge and current information and technical details about communication satellite earth stations.

Universal Postal Union (UPU)

During 1966 the United States continued to carry out its responsibilities as a member of the Management Council of the Consultative Committee on Postal Studies, a permanent committee which was established in 1957 to study technical, operational, and economic problems of interest to postal administrations. Throughout the year, the United States contributed to the Committee by supplying the latter with information relative to these problems. Much of the material developed by the Management Council has been published and distributed to the members of the UPU and should prove invaluable in the continued development of postal communications.

During the 1965–66 biennium the UPU, as executing agency for the UNDP, provided technical assistance to 32 individual countries and carried out a regional project in Central America and an interregional project in the Arab states. This assistance was approximately three times greater than that provided in the preceding 2 years. During 1966 some 20 UPU experts carried out missions and 49 study programs were undertaken by fellows from less developed countries. The technical assistance projects covered such varied aspects of postal service as inspection procedures, mechanization, organization of transport, laboratory work in scientific identification, postal savings banks, installation of postage stamp printing equipment, automation, accounting and financial services, maintenance of postal machines, photography, philately, and the like.

As a member of both the Executive Council and the Management Council of the UPU, the United States played a prominent role in establishing procedures for UPU participation in the U.N. program of technical assistance. It also provided some of the field experts and served as training host for a number of the fellowship holders.

The UPU also has a technical assistance program of its own which includes provisions for direct assistance between postal administrations. In keeping with its policy, the United States cooperated fully with the UPU technical assistance program and was host to a large number of representatives of other postal administrations visiting the United States for the purpose of studying the U.S. postal service.

World Meteorological Organization (WMO)

WORLD WEATHER WATCH

Since 1962 the WMO has been actively engaged in fulfilling the responsibilities placed on it as a result of the 16th and 17th U.N. General Assembly resolutions in the field of outer space. In 1962 the first WMO report on the Advancement of Atmospheric Sciences and their Application in the Light of Developments in Outer Space outlined the elements for a World Weather Watch (WWW), a cooperative global meteorological observing and prediction system.

In 1966 the fifth WMO report on outer space set forth the detailed two-

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part design of the WWW: (1) a specific action plan to be implemented in the 4 years, 1968–1971, and (2) a research plan for investigating new techniques that may be adopted for use in the subsequent 4-year period.

This fifth report describes the network of World Weather Centers and Regional Weather Centers, the most efficient methods for using weather information from satellites, arrangements for a more progressive and efficient global observational and communication system, and the research and training required to gain these objectives.

U.S. international meteorological policies and programs are formulated by the Interagency Committee for International Meteorological Programs, established in 1964 and composed of representatives of the Department of State, the Department of Commerce, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Federal Aviation Agency, and the National Science Foundation.

On March 23, 1966, World Meteorological Day, President Johnson asked Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor, his science advisor, Dr. Donald Hornig, and Director of the Budget Charles Schultze to study a series of proposals prepared by the Interagency Committee and recommend "a plan of action for America's role in this important international program." At the same time he reaffirmed that the United States would move ahead with plans for a worldwide weather system, in collaboration with other nations, "toward a goal beneficial to all mankind." The President said:

> We know now that our environment is global and indivisible. Knowing this, it follows that the only way to achieve significant improvement of weather services and prediction is by vigorous international cooperation and by worldwide dissemination of weather data.
>
> . . . Through the World Meteorological Organization the concept of a World Weather Watch is now taking shape. On this occasion, I am proud to say that the United States strongly supports international cooperation in this vital field.
>
> Much must be accomplished to transform hope into reality. Scientifically, we must move toward a better understanding of our environment. Technologically, we must move toward developing improved systems. But there are no insuperable obstacles—and the opportunities are too great for us to ignore.

During 1966 the United States launched three operational satellites: ESSA 1, ESSA 2, and ESSA 3. Of these, ESSA 2 carries Automatic Picture Transmission System (APT) cameras, enabling users anywhere to receive pictures on local inexpensive ground equipment. This operational satellite and five of the experimental weather satellites (TIROS and NIMBUS), which continue to perform satisfactorily, enable the United States to make available data on weather conditions to all nations of the world. In addition, a weather facsimile transmission, employing the new Advanced Technological Satellite (ATS–1) located in a stationary orbit over the Pacific, is being tested by reception at selected American and foreign APT stations.

On September 19, 1966, in the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, Ambassador Goldberg noted some of the practical benefits to shipping, agriculture, and industry that come from the meteorological satellites which provide widely disseminated weather information on a global basis. He noted further that there were almost 50 APT stations outside the United States in some 29 countries, including Argentina, Chile, Hungary, India, Israel, Kenya, Malaysia, Pakistan, Poland, Qatar, and Switzerland, and he reaffirmed the U.S. invitation to all nations to participate in the program.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

At its 18th session in Geneva, May 26–June 10, 1966, the WMO

Executive Committee concentrated on preparations for the WWW. It approved a number of proposals for the consideration of the Fifth WMO Congress scheduled for April 1967, including a WWW Plan and proposed modifications in the program and budget for 1968–71. Dr. Robert M. White, Administrator of the U.S. Environmental Science Services Administration, is a member of the Executive Committee.

RELATED ACTIVITIES

The Working Group on Antarctic Meteorology of the WMO Executive Committee met in Melbourne, Australia, from February 23 to March 4, 1966. It recommended ways to improve the meteorological network, forecasting arrangements, and telecommunications in Antarctica and surrounding areas. The third session of the Executive Committee's Panel of Experts on the International Hydrological Decade was held in Geneva in May. The Panel agreed at this time to undertake several technical studies in implementation of the recommendations of the UNESCO Coordinating Council for the International Hydrological Decade.

The Commission for Synoptic Meteorology, the largest of the WMO Technical Commissions, held its fourth session in Wiesbaden from March 8 to April 2, 1966. It developed new and important worldwide communication arrangements, codes, forecast procedures, and networks, with special emphasis on their relationship to the WWW. Paul H. Kutschenreuter of the Environmental Science Services Administration was chairman of the U.S. delegation.

The WMO Advisory Committee, which met April 18–22, 1966, with the Committee on Atmospheric Sciences of the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics, laid particular stress on the research aspects of the WWW, especially the need to understand the general circulation of the atmosphere. Adequate knowledge of this subject will be necessary before long-range forecasts can become accurate and before large-scale weather modification can be practical. The United States is represented on the WMO Advisory Committee by Dr. George P. Cressman, Director of the U.S. Weather Bureau, and by Dr. Walter O. Roberts, Director of the National Center for Atmospheric Research at Boulder, Colorado.

The fourth session of Regional Association IV (North and Central America) met in Asheville, N.C., in October and revised the regional network and communication and forecasting arrangements. Special emphasis was placed on the problems in the tropical area, and Miami was designated as a Regional Weather Center in the WWW. Dr. White chaired the U.S. delegation to this meeting. Regional Association III (South America) and Regional Association V (Southwest Pacific) also met in 1966 and similarly took steps to improve meteorological services to agriculture, aviation, and marine shipping. Nels E. Johnson of the Environmental Science Services Administration headed the U.S. delegations to these two sessions.

The WMO serves as executing agency for UNDP projects pertaining to meteorology and hydrometeorology. During 1966 a project to establish an Institute of Tropical Meteorology was completed in India, and new projects were approved for meteorological services development in northeast Brazil; the improvement of the hydrometeorological services in the Central American Isthmus; a hydrometeorological survey of the catchments of Lakes Victoria, Kioga, and Albert in Africa; and the improvement of the Caribbean Meteorological Services.

International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)

The 10th regular session of the IAEA General Conference was held at Vienna, September 21–28, 1966. In a message delivered on his behalf on September 22 by Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, President Johnson noted that the IAEA had contributed much to the development of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. He went on to say:

> I should like to emphasize to you my country's dedication to three principles which are of particular relevance to this organization. We are deeply committed to the principle of international cooperation for peace in every field of human endeavor. We believe strongly in sharing the benefits of scientific progress and we have consistently acted on this belief. And we have worked, and will continue to work, toward the economic development of the world's less developed countries.
>
> If nuclear energy is to play its rightful role in contributing to these goals, the Agency has a crucial responsibility to see that the vast beneficial uses of nuclear energy are not diverted for military purposes. I cannot say often enough that the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons is one of the most important tasks of our times. We look on the Agency's safeguards system as one of the principal instruments for accomplishing this task. The U.S. Government fully supports the Agency system and we will do all in our power to support the continued growth and technical effectiveness of the system. But its success depends on the support of all members—and I urge all members to foster the continued healthy development and widespread application of this vital system.

ELECTRICITY NEEDS

In 1966 the IAEA, as executing agent for the UNDP, completed a 2-year investment study on power for the Luzon grid which indicated that the Philippines could profitably look to nuclear power to meet its expanding needs in the 1970's. The study encompassed a detailed analysis of power needs, economic comparisons between conventional and nuclear powerplants, and the planning of an optimum program for the Luzon grid. It also established a methodology for the objective analysis of the possible role of nuclear power in other developing countries.

REACTOR DEVELOPMENT

The technical aspects of reactor development were given continued attention by the IAEA during 1966. A review of fast power reactors was published, and plans were made for a symposium on fast reactor problems during 1967. A panel meeting was held on the use of organics in power reactors and a symposium on alkaline metal coolants. The first edition of a Reactor Card Index, covering 800 reactors, and the sixth volume of the IAEA Directory of Nuclear Reactors were completed. Important work was done in relation to research reactors, reactor safety, and nuclear fuels and equipment.

DESALINATION

The use of nuclear technology to produce fresh water from brackish and sea water was a matter of growing interest during 1966. In his address to the IAEA General Conference in September 1966, Dr. Seaborg complimented the IAEA on its recognition of the enormous potential in combining the technologies of nuclear power and desalting, and the steps it had taken to help its members assess the possible application of these two technologies in meeting their needs for power and water. He cited in particular IAEA cooperation in studies of desalting projects to be undertaken by the United States and Mexico, the United States and Greece, and the United States and Israel.

OTHER PEACEFUL USES

In addition to its work in the major fields of desalting and nuclear power, the IAEA engaged in numerous other activities during 1966. Symposia and panels were sponsored on the uses of isotopes in dairy science and technology, in plant nutrition and physiology, in weed control research, in food preservation, and in hydrology, as well as on radioisotope instruments for use in industry and geophysics. Research contracts were awarded for studies of the application of radioisotopes in agriculture, food irradiation, hydrology, and medicine. Under the auspices of the UNDP, a project was undertaken in Central America for the eradication of the Mediterranean fruit fly, and another project was undertaken in Turkey for the radiation disinfestation of grain.

The Joint FAO/IAEA Division of Atomic Energy in Agriculture, established in 1964, completed a successful year of operational responsibility for all scientific and technical meetings, special missions, publications, and research contracts relating to the use of atomic energy in agriculture. In September 1966 a group of distinguished scientists made a detailed review of the work of this division and commended it for its careful selection of projects.

The IAEA laboratories at Vienna and Seibersdorf (near Vienna) continued to provide services to member states. Emphasis was placed on the production of standardized radionuclides and on the coordination of methods of trace analysis. The Seibersdorf laboratory also provided training in the use of isotopes and radiation sources to some 24 fellows.

The IAEA continued its sponsorship of the International Marine Radioactivity Laboratory at Monaco, which investigated possible distribution patterns of radionuclides in the sea, the chemistry of sea water, the elemental composition of marine organisms, and the effect of ionizing radiations on marine life.

HEALTH AND SAFETY

During 1966 the IAEA devoted greater effort to finding cheap and safe means of disposing of nuclear waste, to providing services to facilitate the international transport of radioactive materials, and to helping individual countries solve local health and safety problems. Standards for the design and testing of packages for large radioactive sources were considered by an IAEA panel. In collaboration with WHO, a revised guide was prepared describing the assistance that might be made available to member states in the event of a radiation accident, and work was begun on a manual on planning for emergencies. Manuals were published on environmental monitoring in emergency situations, radiation safety in uranium and thorium mines, methods of radiochemical analysis for assessing contamination, techniques for controlling air pollution, the safe use of radioisotopes in hydrology, the safety evaluation of radiochemical laboratories, and waste disposal into the ground. Symposia and panels were held on the treatment of low- and intermediate-level wastes; the economics of waste management; the disposal of waste into seas, rivers, and surface waters; and the use of neutron monitoring for radiological protection.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

In May 1966 a group of leading scientists reviewed the work of the International Center for Theoretical Physics, which had been established at Trieste in 1964 under an agreement between the IAEA and the Government of Italy. The group concluded that the Center was making an outstanding contribution in the

field of high energy physics and plasma physics and had established itself among the leading institutes of the world. It noted that the Center was a highly effective medium of assistance for developing countries because it provided opportunities for young scientists from such nations to work with colleagues from advanced nations. The result was that, of some 160 papers that had been issued by the Center, more than 100 had been written, singly or in collaboration, by scientists from developing countries.

The IAEA continued during 1966 to assist developing countries in obtaining trained personnel, knowledge, and equipment essential to the application of atomic energy to their problems. By October 31 it had assigned 64 experts, including 8 visiting professors, to work on projects in various countries and was in the process of recruiting 16 additional experts. By that same date, it had selected for fellowship awards 321 of the 482 individuals nominated by 55 member states and had held 10 training courses on application of isotopes, radiation protection, and radioactive waste management in eight countries for the benefit of some 150 trainees.

SAFEGUARDS

IAEA Director General Eklund, in addressing the U.N. General Assembly on November 22, 1966, called attention to the fact that "The Agency's Safeguards System (1965)" was applicable to all types and sizes of nuclear reactors, and that in June 1966 the IAEA Board of Governors had improved the system by adopting procedures for safeguarding nuclear reprocessing plants used to recover fissile material from burnt-up nuclear fuel. The United States had promptly taken steps to have these procedures applied to the Nuclear Fuel Services reprocessing plant in West Valley, N.Y., which would process the irradiated fuel from the large Yankee Nuclear Power Station at Rowe, Mass., already subject to IAEA safeguards.

Dr. Eklund also noted that proposals had been made that countries able to export nuclear materials should notify the IAEA of all shipments of such materials, and that two major world exporters, the United States and Canada, had already arranged to do so.

After recalling that in 1965 IAEA safeguards were being applied to 46 reactors in 21 countries, Dr. Eklund reported that those figures had grown to 57 reactors in 25 countries. He further stated that the total number of megawatts safeguarded had almost doubled in the year, but pointed out that, even so, only about 6 percent of the world's current peaceful nuclear power output was under IAEA safeguards.

ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

The work of the IAEA is supported by a regular or administrative budget, financed by assessments levied on member states, and by an operational budget, financed from voluntary contributions and other sources, which encompasses all technical assistance activities other than those carried out by the IAEA on behalf of the UNDP.

At its 10th regular session, the IAEA General Conference appropriated $275,000 as a supplement to the total amount of $8,744,000 already provided for the administrative budget for 1966, subject to the understanding that this supplement should be used only to the extent required to meet increased staff costs, and that the amount actually used should be recovered in the assessment of members for the administrative budget for 1968.

The General Conference adopted an administrative budget for 1967 in the amount of $9,491,500, an increase of 8.55 percent over 1966, and a scale of assessments under which the

United States would pay 31.87 percent, a slight reduction from its 1966 rate of 31.91 percent. The General Conference further adopted an operational budget for 1967 in the amount of $2,408,000, of which $2,000,000 was the target for voluntary contributions and the remainder was to be funded from special contributions and other sources. In respect to the operational budget, the United States announced that it would contribute, subject to the availability of funds, an amount equivalent to that portion of the $2,000,000 target corresponding to its assessment under the administrative budget, and up to 37.5 percent of the total unrestricted cash contributions. The United States also planned to continue contributions-in-kind (fellowships for study in the United States, the services of experts, small equipment grants) and supplementary support through research contracts, gifts of fuel, and library materials.

Trusteeship and Dependent Areas

Part Three

Trusteeship System

The 33d session of the Trusteeship Council opened on May 27, 1966, in accordance with its Rules of Procedure which require that the annual regular session be convened in May. The session then temporarily adjourned, resumed on June 27, and met regularly until July 26. At the opening meeting of the Council, Francis D. W. Brown of the United Kingdom and Angie Brooks of Liberia were elected President and Vice President of the session. Four administering states—Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States—and four non-administering states—China, France, Liberia, and the U.S.S.R.—comprise the Council.

The Council examined conditions in the three territories remaining under the international trusteeship system: the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (administered by the United States), New Guinea (administered by Australia) and Nauru (administered by Australia on behalf of itself, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom). The Council considered separate annual reports of the Secretary-General on the U.N. program of scholarships for inhabitants of trust territories and on the dissemination of information on the United Nations in the trust territories.

In accordance with the Charter, the Council submitted its report on the strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to the Security Council and its report on New Guinea and Nauru to the General Assembly. The Security Council, which in 1949 had requested the Trusteeship Council to perform on its behalf the functions specified in the U.N. Charter relating to the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of strategic areas, did not discuss the report on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. After considering the Trusteeship Council's report, the General Assembly adopted on December 20, 1966, separate resolutions on New Guinea and Nauru (see pages 194 and 196).

As in past years, the President of the Trusteeship Council informed the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Committee of 24) about the work of the Council at its 33d session and expressed his willingness to discuss with the Chairman any further assistance the Council might provide the Committee.

Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is composed of over 2,100 islands and atolls (96 of which are inhabited), having a combined land area of approximately 706 square miles, scattered over an ocean area of some 3 million square miles. The islands are located in the western Pacific Ocean north of the Equator and are divided into three large groups: the Marianas (with the exception of Guam) in the north, the Carolines in the central and southern sectors, and the Marshalls in the east. The whole area has a population of about 93,000 inhabitants.

Prior to World War II, Japan administered the islands under a League of Nations mandate. On July 18, 1947, the U.S. Government and the Security Council concluded an agreement making the islands a strategic trust. The only strategic trust territory, it has been administered by the U.S. Department of the Interior since July 1, 1951.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL CONSIDERATION

At its 33d session, the Trusteeship Council considered the Pacific Islands from June 27 to July 12. Ambassador Eugenie Anderson was the U.S. Representative. The Acting High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, William R. Norwood, was a Special Representative, and Francis Nuuan, Treasurer of the Yap Islands Congress and member of the territory's legislature, the Congress of Micronesia, served as an adviser to the U.S. delegation.

REPORT OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY

The U.S. Representative opened the Council's discussion by noting that the pace of advancement in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands had quickened dramatically in the past few years. Progress was being made in political development and the Congress of Micronesia had shown itself to be an enthusiastic and energetic legislative body whose commitment to democratic processes was impressive. At the same time she assured the Council that the United States was aware that much remained to be done in Micronesia and that the United States would continue its efforts to lead the Micronesians to full participation in their accelerated political, social, and economic development.

Acting High Commissioner Norwood then reviewed in detail the major developments during the previous year. He devoted particular attention to the report prepared by the World Health Organization (WHO) on health conditions in the Trust Territory. Mr. Norwood stated that the United States had found the report most helpful in identifying the problems in this field, and he assured the Council that each of the recommendations of the WHO report would receive the most careful scrutiny. In the meantime he outlined a number of developments in the territory's health services and pointed out that during the past year the U.S. Public Health Service had sent consultants to the territory to help reorganize the Department of Public Health.

Mr. Nuuan pointed to the Congress of Micronesia as evidence that the Micronesian people could work together for a common goal. He also noted that Micronesians now hold a number of policymaking positions in the Administration of the Trust Territory. While paying tribute to the United States for the progress that had been made in the territory under difficult conditions and limited budgets, Mr. Nuuan stated that the Micronesian people looked forward to new and expanded programs in all areas of development. He thought the new projects, such as the Peace

Corps program, would do much to speed development.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL REPORT

In its report to the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council noted with gratification that the U.S. Government had approved a compassionate payment of $950,000 to compensate victims of nuclear fallout on Rongelap Island in the Marshall Islands. At the same time, the Council regretted the continued delay in reaching agreement on compensation for damage suffered by Micronesians during World War II. The Council noted that the United States had appointed a special representative who was discussing the claims problem with the Japanese Government, reaffirmed its earlier suggestion that thought be given to employing the good offices of the U.N. Secretary-General to seek a prompt settlement of the problem, and expressed the hope that a definite settlement would be reached before its next session. In noting that all major land claims had not been settled, the Council expressed the hope that the new Division of Land Management within the Administration of the Trust Territory would be provided with the necessary trained staff and technical surveyors in order that all outstanding land claims could be quickly settled.

Political Advancement

The Council noted with satisfaction that a national legislature had been constituted on the basis of universal adult suffrage and free elections. The Council considered that with the functioning of the Congress of Micronesia and the adoption of an official flag and national holiday, "Micronesia, once literally a geographic expression, has now become a real political entity . . . ." The Council again expressed the hope that the financial responsibility of the Congress of Micronesia would be enlarged by progressively relaxing the restrictions on its power to appropriate U.S. subsidies. The Council believed that the problems faced by the Trust Territory justified both longer or more frequent sessions of the Congress of Micronesia and the full-time service and payment of members. The Council again stressed the importance of political development at local levels and noted with satisfaction the approval of a bill at the first session of the Congress of Micronesia that delineated primary powers and responsibilities of the territorial, district, municipal, and local governments in the Trust Territory. While observing that most of the highest positions on the headquarters staff of the Administration were not yet held by Micronesians, the Council was gratified to learn that one Micronesian had been appointed a District Administrator and that Micronesians were serving as Assistant District Administrators in four of the six districts. In line with previous suggestions that a unified civil service be created, the Council noted with pleasure that the Administration had established in March 1966 a task force to develop proposals for a Micronesian Civil Service.

Economic Advancement

The Council noted with satisfaction that the Administration had requested the U.S. Congress to increase the statutory limit on appropriations above the present level of $17.5 million per year in order to accelerate economic, social, and educational development. It urged that the Administration fully consider the findings of the report, being prepared under contract by Robert R. Nathan Associates, on the economic development potential of the Trust Territory in developing long-term economic objectives. The Council again recommended that the Administration consider the creation of a development commission or board, with members

of the Congress of Micronesia and district congresses associated with it, to mobilize Micronesian human and material resources for increased productivity. Finally, while noting with appreciation continuing U.S. efforts to develop essential transport and communication facilities, the Council again expressed the hope that construction and improvement of secondary roads would be accelerated to link villages, provide access to power and water supplies, and open the hinterland of the larger islands for agricultural development.

Social, Educational, and Health Advancement

The Council welcomed the U.S. decision to send hundreds of Peace Corps Volunteers to the Trust Territory and hoped that such a large group of trained and dedicated workers would give increased impetus to development in the fields of education and health. The Council commended WHO for its professional and objective report on the past and present health service conditions in the Trust Territory, called attention to the report's suggestion that a systematic, long-term public health plan be introduced immediately, and expressed the hope that this report would provide guidance for the improvement of medical and health services. While noting its approval of the Administration's unrelenting efforts to provide a universal free public school system through the high school level, the Council reiterated its past recommendations that consideration be given to the establishment of a junior college in Micronesia.

Timetable for Self-Government or Independence

The Council noted that with the transfer of legislative authority from the High Commissioner to the Congress of Micronesia a major step had been taken toward the final objective of the international trusteeship system. It was now up to the Micronesian people and their representatives to consider both when and how they might wish to exercise their inalienable right of self-determination. The Council urged the Administration, in consultation with the Congress of Micronesia and in light of the U. N. Charter, the Trusteeship Agreement, and Resolutions 1514 and 1541 of the 15th General Assembly, to take further steps to fix a date for the people of the territory to exercise their right of self-determination.

Visiting Mission

The Trusteeship Council decided on July 15 to dispatch a regular visiting mission to the Trust Territory during 1967. The Governments of Australia, France, Liberia, and the United Kingdom were invited to submit nominations for membership on the visiting mission.

COMMITTEE OF 24 CONSIDERATION

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was also considered in several meetings of Subcommittee II (Pacific Territories) of the Committee of 24 during August and September 1966. Although discussion at these meetings concentrated upon Guam and American Samoa (see page 211), several representatives made statements with specific reference to the Trust Territory.

The U.S. Representative, Richard E. Johnson, referred members of the Subcommittee to the remarks of the U.S. delegation at the 33d session of the Trusteeship Council regarding the Trust Territory. The Chilean Representative mentioned the enormous difficulties still to be overcome in the Trust Territory but stated that there was no doubt that the people of Micronesia would continue to make progress toward full self-determination and independence. The Polish Representative was generally critical of U.S. administration of the territory and together with the Repre-

sentative of Sierra Leone urged the United States to accelerate the political and constitutional development of the Trust Territory in order to meet rapidly the goals of the Colonialism Declaration. The Subcommittee II report contained a number of conclusions and recommendations that in essence called upon the United States, as Administering Authority, to accelerate the political, economic, and educational advancement of Guam, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory.

On September 29, during the full Committee consideration of the report, the Soviet Representative accused the United States of aiming to make all three territories "an economic and strategic appendage of the metropolitan country." The U.S. Representative stated that the United States did not regard the conclusions and recommendations as applicable to the Trust Territory since the U.N. Charter specified the Security Council and the Trusteeship Council as the appropriate U.N. organs for consideration of questions relating to strategic areas such as the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. In its report to the General Assembly, the Committee of 24 generally reiterated the conclusions and recommendations of its Subcommittee but did not single out the Trust Territory for separate recommendations.

The General Assembly did not discuss or adopt any resolutions concerning the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

Trust Territory of New Guinea

The Trust Territory of New Guinea comprises the northeastern part of the island of New Guinea, north of the Papuan and east of the West Irian borders, and the arc of islands stretching from the Admiralties to the northern Solomons (Buka and Bougainville). The total land area covers some 92,160 square miles.

In June 1965 the indigenous population was estimated to exceed 1,500,000. It was further estimated that there were more than 16,500 nonindigenous inhabitants, mostly Australians and Chinese.

The Trust Territory, which Australia administers as a union with the neighboring Australian non-self-governing territory of Papua, presents formidable problems of administration. More than 700 dialects are spoken by some of the world's most primitive people.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL CONSIDERATION

The report of the Administering Authority was considered from July 5 to 19, 1966.

Political Advancement

The Australian Representative informed the Council that Australia was continuing to advance indigenous persons to positions of higher authority in the public service. He also said that the Select Committee on Constitutional Development, appointed in 1965 by the Papua and New Guinea House of Assembly to draft a set of proposals for future constitutional development, had presented interim reports in November 1965 and in June 1966, after traveling extensively in the territory.

In its report to the General Assembly the Council reaffirmed the belief expressed in 1965 at its 32d session that the next step in constitutional development would be to bridge the gap between a fully representative parliament and a fully responsible government. It noted that the Administering Authority would give urgent and positive consideration to all issues raised in the Select Committee's report when it became available, and that the House of Assembly had been a unifying force, providing a

means for free political expression which had tended to draw the people together. The Council welcomed the manner in which the Parliament had taken up many vital issues.

The Council recognized that it was important that the Territory of Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea eventually reach self-government or independence as an entity rather than as separate countries, and noted assurances by the Administering Authority that the two territories had been administered as one and continued to be one country. In this connection the Council expressed its interest in learning whether the Select Committee had considered recommending the adoption of a common flag and national anthem for the two territories. In the area of local government the Council welcomed the further increase in the number of local government councils and reiterated its previous call for their extension through the entire territory.

Economic Advancement

The Council commended Australia and the people of the territory for the significant progress reported in agricultural planning and production, achieved through implementation of the recommendations of a 1963 World Bank Economic Survey. Recognizing the validity of the Administration's policy of working toward the greatest possible degree of economic self-sufficiency, the Council agreed that the people of the territory should retain control of all vital sectors of the economy.

Recalling the view of the World Bank Mission concerning the need for increased investment of foreign capital, the Council welcomed the encouragement that the Administering Authority was giving to such investment and its promise that the investment would not conflict with the interest of the indigenous inhabitants. The Council trusted that the Administering Authority would consider insuring that the people of the territory be given the opportunity to share directly in the holdings and profits of such investment. It also welcomed the acceptance of U.N. specialized agency assistance in the territory, adding that the agencies might be able to play an even greater role, and suggesting that other possible sources of international aid also be investigated. It noted with approval that an economic adviser had been appointed and the Economic Planning Committee set up, and suggested that means might be developed to engage indigenous officials in the Committee.

With regard to land reform the Council approved the advances made in the conversion of land from group ownership to individual ownership and called upon the Administering Authority to continue, in consultation with indigenous officials, to seek solutions which would protect the rights of the indigenous inhabitants.

In the field of industrial development, the Council noted with satisfaction that 11 industries had benefited from the provisions of the Industrial Development Ordinance and expressed hope that as great a portion as feasible of the territory's primary products would be processed within the territory.

Social and Educational Advancement

Noting Australia's statement that it was aware of the housing shortage and had made a special effort to expand housing programs, the Council called upon it to intensify efforts to overcome this problem. Recognizing that Austrialia has legislation outlawing racial discrimination in the territories, the Council called upon it to continue its efforts to stamp out any discriminatory practices that might still exist. The Council commended Australia on its continued

progress in raising public health standards.

The Council noted with gratification the establishment of institutions of higher education and welcomed the fact that the new University Council and the Council of the Institution of Higher Technical Education included, respectively, four and three members of the House of Assembly. It commended the Administering Authority for its extension work in the villages in adult education, social welfare, public health, and agriculture.

Timetable for Self-Government or Independence

The Council welcomed the active consideration given by the House of Assembly to the future of the Trust Territory and in particular the establishment of a Select Committee on Constitutional Development. The Council decided to await with keen interest the findings of the Select Committee and the reaction of the House of Assembly to the Committee's proposals, and trusted that the Administering Authority would give earnest and prompt consideration to the Committee's recommendations, guided by the provisions of the U.N. Charter, the Trusteeship Agreement, and the relevant General Assembly resolutions. In this regard the Council noted the statement made before it by Mr. Tei Abal, a member of the House of Assembly, that the people of Papua and New Guinea were not yet ready for self-government and did not wish to be hurried. It also noted the reaffirmation of the Australian Government that the people of the territory were free to terminate their present status and become independent if they so wished. The Council drew the attention of the Administering Authority to the need to keep constantly before the people choices for the future, including independence.

COMMITTEE OF 24 CONSIDERATION

On September 29 the Committee of 24 considered the report of its Subcommittee II on the Trust Territory of New Guinea. In general conclusions that were applicable to several territories administered by Australia considered at the same time, the Committee of 24 noted with satisfaction the policy of the Administering Authority to work for social, educational, economic, and political advancement of the people but considered that progress toward the implementation of the Colonialism Declaration had been slow. The Committee's recommendations reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of these territories to self-determination and independence in conformity with the Colonialism Declaration, and added that the people should be enabled to exercise their wishes in accordance with the provisions of the Colonialism Declaration through democratic processes under U.N. supervision. The Committee also stated that a visiting mission was necessary and would be most useful in assessing the political climate and aspirations of the people, and suggested that steps might be taken to arrange such a visit in consultation with the Administering Authority.

In its specific conclusions on Papua and New Guinea the Committee of 24 took note of the political and constitutional changes in the territories, particularly the establishment of the House of Assembly and the increase in the number of local government councils. It urged the Administering Authority to take further immediate measures whereby the House of Assembly could function as a fully representative and effective body. It also took into account the efforts of the Australian Government for the economic and social development of the territory, particularly the establishment of the University of Papua-New Guinea.

The Committee of 24 called for steps to be taken in the constitutional

field to abolish the special and reserved seats in the House of Assembly and to implement speedily the Colonialism Declaration. It recommended that the local government councils be further strengthened to give the population the possibility of exercising municipal self-government. Finally, it felt that the efforts in the economic and educational fields should continue at an accelerated pace.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

After considering the reports of the Trusteeship Council and the Committee of 24, the Assembly's Fourth Committee on December 16, 1966, approved a draft resolution on New Guinea and Papua by a vote of 61 to 6 (U.S.), with 17 abstentions.

The draft resolution reaffirmed the right of the people of the territories to self-determination and independence; deplored the failure of the Administering Authority to implement the 1965 General Assembly resolution on New Guinea; called upon the Administering Authority to implement fully the Colonialism Declaration and to inform the Trusteeship Council at its 34th session and the Committee of 24 of the action taken in that regard; called for the removal of all discriminatory electoral qualifications, the abolition of all economic, social, health, and educational discrimination, the holding of elections based on universal adult suffrage with the view of transferring power to the people of the territories, and the fixing of an early date for independence; and called upon the Administering Authority to refrain from utilizing the territories for military activities incompatible with the U.N. Charter.

Plenary consideration of the resolution led to two separate paragraph votes. The paragraph calling for the elimination of discriminatory practices, holding elections with a view toward transferring power to the people of the territory, and fixing a date for early independence was retained by a vote of 70 to 16 (U.S.), with 28 abstentions. The paragraph relating to the use of the territories for military activities was retained by a vote of 71 to 16 (U.S.), with 24 abstentions. The resolution as a whole was adopted on December 20 by a vote of 81 to 8 (U.S.), with 24 abstentions.

Trust Territory of Nauru

The Trust Territory of Nauru is a small isolated island in the central Pacific Ocean. Its population in 1965 was 5,561 of whom 2,734 were Nauruans, 1,481 other Pacific islanders, 900 Chinese, and 446 Europeans. Australia administers the territory on behalf of itself, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom.

Approximately two-thirds of the total land area of 5,263 acres has rich phosphate deposits, upon which the economy of the island depends. A relatively fertile 150- to 300-yard-wide belt of land encircles the island, but the central plateau in which the phosphate deposits are located is unsuitable for agricultural purposes.

Based upon the proceeds of the phosphate mining, the Nauruan people have achieved a relatively high standard of living and a literacy rate of over 90 percent. Since at the present rate of extraction the phosphate deposits will be exhausted in less than 40 years, the Nauruans' long-term future remains uncertain.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL CONSIDERATION

The report of the Administering Authority was considered from July 11 to 26.

REPORT OF THE ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY

The Australian Government reported that in accordance with the

recommendations of the 32d session of the Trusteeship Council, a Nauruan Legislative Council had been established on January 31, 1966. The new Council created a Select Committee to find the most suitable means for Nauru to achieve independence by January 31, 1968. The Australian Government announced that it would shortly resume discussions with Nauruan representatives on the future control of the phosphate industry and on rehabilitation of worked-out lands. It added that the past year had seen substantial political and economic advances on the island and that the establishment of the Executive Council not only met the request of the Nauruan people but also provided them with an opportunity to gain practical experience in self-government. Councillor Hammer De Roburt, a member of the Australian delegation and the elected Head Chief of the Nauruan people, informed the Trusteeship Council that in light of the failure of the Nauruans and the Australians to agree on resettlement, the Nauruan people desired to remain a distinct small nation, shape their own destiny, and achieve sovereign independence by January 31, 1968. Councillor De Roburt stated, however, that in order to remain on Nauru the island must be fully rehabilitated, a responsibility of the Administering Authority.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL REPORT

In its report the Trusteeship Council reaffirmed the right of the Nauruan people to self-government and/or independence. The Council recalled that the Nauruans had freely expressed their wish to achieve independence by January 31, 1968, and that a General Assembly resolution had requested the Administering Authority to accede to their wishes in this respect. The Council, considering both the Australian Government's view that talks for further political progress should be held within 2 or 3 years after the establishment of the Legislative Council and the Nauruan request that talks be held in 1967, recommended that the Administering Authority seriously consider the wishes of the Nauruan people to receive independence no later than January 31, 1968. In conclusion the Council noted that the Administering Authority continued to believe that the idea of resettling the Nauruans, which had been unanimously endorsed by the 1965 U.N. visiting mission to the territory, should not be abandoned.

COMMITTEE OF 24 CONSIDERATION

On September 29, 1966, the Committee of 24 considered the report of its Subcommittee II on the Trust Territory of Nauru. For the Committee's general conclusions, applicable to the several territories administered by Australia, see page 193.

In its specific conclusions on Nauru the Committee noted that the Nauruan people had expressed their desire to become independent by January 31, 1968, and that there were serious problems relating to the resettlement of the people of Nauru. It noted with satisfaction that a Legislative Council had been set up, but felt that the Council's powers were restricted. Finally it noted that talks were to be held shortly between the Nauruans and the Administering Authority regarding ownership and control of the phosphate industry.

In its recommendations, the Committee stated that the implementation of the Colonialism Declaration and the resettlement of the Nauruans were two distinct questions that should be settled independently, with precedence being given to the first, as desired by the Nauruans. It recommended that the Nauruans be given full control over their natural economic resources and expressed the hope that the forthcoming discussions would resolve the question. The Committee recommended that steps

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be taken in conformity with the Colonialism Declaration to fulfill the desire of the people of Nauru for independence by January 1968.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

After examining the reports of the Trusteeship Council and the Committee of 24, the Fourth Committee on December 15 approved a draft resolution on Nauru by a vote of 58 to 3, with 17 (U.S.) abstentions.

The draft resolution reaffirmed the right of the people of Nauru to self-government and independence; recommended that the Administering Authority fix the earliest possible date, but not later than January 31, 1968, for Nauruan independence; recommended that the Administering Authority transfer control of the phosphate industry to the Nauruan people, and take immediate steps, irrespective of the cost involved, toward restoring the island for habitation.

The General Assembly on December 20 approved the resolution by a vote of 85 to 2, with 27(U.S.) abstentions.

Committee of 24

The General Assembly in 1961 established a 17-member Special Committee to make suggestions and recommendations on the progress and extent of implementation of the 1960 Colonialism Declaration. Enlarged to 24 members in 1962, this Committee in 1966 consisted of the following members: Afghanistan, Australia, Bulgaria, Chile, Denmark, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Poland, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, the United Kingdom, the United States, U.S.S.R., Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

Procedural Aspects

The Committee of 24 held 90 meetings during 1966 in two sessions. The first session consisted of 62 meetings between March 8 and June 22, including 40 meetings in Africa. The second session was held from July 6 to November 30 at U.N. Headquarters.

At its first meeting, the Committee elected Gershon Collier (Sierra Leone) Chairman, José Piñera (Chile) and John Malecela (Tanzania) Vice Chairmen, and Alauddin Aljubouri (Iraq) Rapporteur.

The Committee of 24 consists of a Working Group, which makes recommendations on the Committee's agenda and program; a Subcommittee on Petitions, responsible for examining written petitions and requesting oral hearings; three general geographical subcommittees (established in 1964), and several special subcommittees.

Subcommittee I (Africa and the Indian Ocean) is composed of Denmark, Ethiopia, Mali, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia; Subcommittee II (Pacific Ocean) is composed of Afghanistan, Australia, Chile, India, Iraq, Poland, Sierra Leone, and the United States; and Subcommittee III (Caribbean) is composed of Bulgaria, Iran, Italy, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Paraguay, and Venezuela.

A Subcommittee on Aden, established in 1964, continued to meet in 1966, and the Committee moved to establish four new subcommittees. On June 9 it decided to establish one on

South-West Africa and one on Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland; on June 21, prompted by an invitation from Spain to send a visiting mission to Equatorial Guinea, it established a subcommittee for that purpose; and on September 7 it decided to establish a subcommittee on Fiji to study at "first hand" the situation in the territory. On November 30, the Chairman informed the Committee that he would appoint the Fiji subcommittee at an early date in 1967.

During 1966, the Committee twice considered and adopted subcommittee reports recommending the sending of visiting missions to the territories under consideration. On May 13, an oral report submitted by Subcommittee III recommended that authorities administering territories be invited to facilitate visits to them by the relevant subcommittees. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Eugenie Anderson, reserved the U.S. position on the question, stating that specific requests would be transmitted to the U.S. Government for consideration; however, she could not offer any encouragement that the United States would comply with any such request. The Australian and U.K. Representatives also expressed reservations.

A report of Subcommittee II, adopted by the Committee of 24 on September 19, also recommended that Administering Authorities be invited to receive visiting missions by that Subcommittee. The United States and the United Kingdom again reserved their positions on adoption of the report.

On October 10, the Committee of 24 considered a Working Group report stating that the question of the inclusion of Puerto Rico and Comoro Archipelago on the list of territories to which the Colonialism Declaration was applicable required further detailed study and that, in view of the lack of time at that session, the Committee should study the matter at an early date in 1967. The Working Group also agreed to consider early in 1967 any other territories that might be included in the list.

The report was adopted over the strong objections of the United States. The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the U.S. Representative said, was self-governing and autonomous, a fact that had been confirmed by the General Assembly in 1953, and therefore was not subject to the jurisdiction of the Committee of 24. The United States would view very seriously any attempt to discuss the matter since that would question the legitimacy of Puerto Rico's self-governing status.

The question of U.N. consideration of Puerto Rico was raised again by the Cuban Representative in plenary session of the General Assembly on December 12, 1966, during consideration of the general resolution on colonialism. The Committee of 24, the Cuban Representative asserted, was competent to study the question of Puerto Rico since the territory was dependent and therefore subject to the provisions of the Colonialism Declaration.

In exercising the U.S. right of reply, Ambassador Anderson reiterated the position the United States had taken in the Committee of 24. To discuss Puerto Rico was an entirely improper procedure which questioned the continuing validity of a duly adopted General Assembly resolution—a precedent which in the U.S. view could have "extremely dangerous repercussions." The United States, she concluded, strongly opposed any such move.

African Trip

The 20th General Assembly had authorized the Committee of 24 to travel as necessary to carry out its work. On March 22, 1966, the Committee decided to hold a series of meetings in Africa, accepting invita-

tions from several African governments. The Committee met in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; Mogadiscio, Somalia; Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; Cairo, United Arab Republic; and Algiers, Algeria, between May 23 and June 22. During its travels the Committee heard petitioners and discussed the situations in South-West Africa; Southern Rhodesia; Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland; the Portuguese African territories; the Spanish territories; French Somaliland; Aden; and Oman. The United Kingdom and Uruguay did not participate in the trip.

The Committee adopted a number of resolutions on the various territories. In addition, it adopted a general resolution with regard to all the territories considered during the trip. Introduced on June 21 by Tanzania, and cosponsored by 12 Afro-Asian countries and Yugoslavia, the draft resolution as later amended deplored the negative attitude of colonial powers, particularly Portugal and South Africa, and declared that the continuation of colonialism constituted a threat to international peace and security and was a crime against humanity. It recommended that the Security Council impose sanctions against Portugal, South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia; condemned foreign financial interests operating in colonial territories; invited all states to provide material and moral assistance to national liberation movements; requested colonial powers to dismantle military bases installed in colonial territories; and requested all states and international institutions, including the IBRD, the IMF, and the other U.N. specialized agencies, to withhold assistance of any kind to the governments of Portugal and South Africa until they renounced their policies of colonial domination and racial discrimination.

The Committee of 24 adopted the resolution on June 22 by a vote of 16 to 2 (U.S., Australia), with 1 abstention (Denmark). Chile, Italy, and Venezuela did not participate in the vote, stating that they had not received instructions from their governments.

The U.S. Representative, Richard E. Johnson, stated that the United States supported many of the basic objectives of the draft resolution but believed that the interests of the people of the territories concerned, as well as of the Administering Authorities, would best be served by peaceful cooperation. Since many paragraphs in the draft resolution obscured that objective, the United States voted against it.

Territories Considered in 1966

During 1966 the Committee of 24 considered the following territories: Aden, American Samoa, Antigua, Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, Dominica, Equatorial Guinea (Fernando Póo and Río Muni), Falkland Islands, Fiji, French Somaliland, Gibraltar, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Grenada, Guam, Ifni, Mauritius, Montserrat, New Hebrides, Niue, Papua, Pitcairn, St. Helena, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Seychelles, Solomon Islands, Southern Rhodesia, South-West Africa, Spanish Sahara, Tokelau Islands, Trust Territory of Nauru, Trust Territory of New Guinea, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Turks and Caicos Islands, the former U.K. High Commission Territories (Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland), and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

For actions taken by the Committee of 24 on Papua, Portuguese territories, Southern Rhodesia, South-West Africa, and the Trust Territories of Nauru, New Guinea, and the Pacific Islands see separate sections of this report: Portuguese

territories (see page 218), Southern Rhodesia (see page 224), South-West Africa (see page 231), Trust Territory of New Guinea (also covering Papua—see page 193), Trust Territory of Nauru (see page 195), and Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (see page 190).

ADEN AND SOUTH ARABIA

The Committee of 24 and the General Assembly first adopted resolutions urging independence for Aden (a British Crown Colony) and the hinterland under British protection in 1963. Additional resolutions followed in 1964 and 1965. In the meantime, the Crown Colony of Aden became the State of Aden and joined with a number of the sheikhdoms and sultanates of the hinterland protectorates to form the South Arabian Federation (SAF). The British announced in 1964 that they would grant independence to Aden, where they still maintained direct control, and to the rest of South Arabia not later than 1968. At the beginning of 1966 the United Kingdom also announced that it would evacuate the Aden base with the granting of independence in 1968. During 1966 the Committee of 24 considered Aden in March, May, June, and August and adopted two resolutions.

First Committee of 24 Resolution

On March 18 the Iraqi Representative drew the Committee's attention to three telegrams complaining of "mass arrests" by the British authorities in Aden. The U.K. Representative stated that 38 people had been arrested since February 24, but only on "strongest evidence of complicity or intended complicity in actual acts of violence." The Committee of 24, however, adopted on March 22 a resolution deploring the "mass arrests" and calling upon the United Kingdom "to desist from these acts and cease all repressive actions against the people of the Territory." The vote was 19 to 3 (Australia, U.K., U.S.), with 2 abstentions.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Anderson, explained that the United States hoped Aden would achieve independence in peace and tranquillity but did not believe the resolution would help in this regard. Like the resolution adopted at the 20th General Assembly, it ignored the question of terrorism and the U.K. efforts to reach a solution to the problem. Instead of being constructive, the resolution was more likely to encourage disorders which would retard an orderly progress toward independence.

On May 13 the U.K. Representative informed the Secretary-General that the SAF had announced on that day its acceptance of the U.N. resolutions relating to South Arabia and its intention to arrange as soon as possible a conference representative of all states in South Arabia, together with political groups and others, to consider ways and means to implement them. On May 16 the U.K. Representative further informed the Secretary-General (1) that the United Kingdom welcomed the SAF's announcement and (2) that the SAF intended to request the Secretary-General, through the United Kingdom, to appoint a U.N. observer at the conference which it intended to convene.

The Committee of 24 considered these developments at its meetings on May 16 and 18. The U.K. Representative said he believed the developments should be welcomed by the Committee of 24. The Subcommittee on Aden (Afghanistan, Iraq, the Ivory Coast, Venezuela, Yugoslavia) submitted a report recommending that the full Committee emphasize that the United Nations regarded the United Kingdom (i.e. not the SAF) as responsible for implementing the U.N. resolutions. The Subcommittee also commented that the conference planned by the SAF should have been called by the United Kingdom in ac-

cordance with the conditions set out in the U.N. resolutions on Aden.

The Committee of 24 decided on May 18, without a formal vote, to approve the report of its Subcommittee and endorse its recommendations. Both the U.S. and the U.K. Representatives, while not opposing adoption of the report, expressed reservations about it.

Consideration in Africa

On its African trip the Committee of 24 heard petitioners representing two political groups—the Front for the Liberation of the Occupied South (FLOSY) and the South Arabian League (SAL)—as well as various other organizations of South Arabians.

On June 9 the Secretary-General transmitted to the Committee the text of the SAF request that a U.N. observer be appointed to attend the conference of all South Arabian states and political groups. The Secretary-General informed the Committee that, to help him discharge the responsibility entrusted to him in the Assembly resolutions, he had appointed Omar A. H. Adeel as his Special Representative for the question of Aden. Mr. Adeel attended the Committee of 24 meetings in Cairo.

Second Committee of 24 Resolution

In Cairo, on June 14, the Iraqi Representative presented a draft resolution, cosponsored by Afghanistan, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Mali, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, and Yugoslavia, which, after expressing concern at the "critical and explosive situation . . . threatening peace and security in Aden and Aden Protectorates, arising from the policies pursued by the administering Power in the Territory," (1) reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of the territory to freedom and independence; (2) deplored establishment by the United Kingdom of "an unrepresentative regime in the Territory, with a view to granting it independence contrary to General Assembly resolutions" and appealed to all states "not to recognize such independence as it is not based on the wishes of the people of the Territory freely expressed through elections held under universal adult suffrage"; (3) called upon the United Kingdom "to declare unequivocally its acceptance of the relevant General Assembly resolutions and its readiness to cooperate with the United Nations in their implementation without delay"; (4) reaffirmed the view that the U.K. responsibilities in Aden could not be shifted or circumvented through any action by an unrepresentative regime; (5) declared that the planned conference of South Arabian states and political groups or any similar conference was not in accordance with the relevant General Assembly resolutions; (6) noted "with deep concern" that the United Kingdom was still carrying out "military operations against the people"; (7) urged the United Kingdom to abolish the state of emergency in Aden, repeal all laws restricting public freedom, cease all repressive actions, release all political detainees, and allow the return of those exiled or deported for political reasons; (8) appealed to all states "to render all assistance to the people of the Territory in their efforts to attain freedom and independence"; (9) drew the attention of the Security Council to the dangerous situation in the area; (10) again invited the Secretary-General to consult with the specialized agencies and other international organizations about assistance for refugees from Aden and Aden Protectorates; and (11) requested the Secretary-General, "in consultation with the Special Committee and the administering Power, to appoint immediately a special mission to Aden composed of member states of the Special Committee for the purpose of recommending practical steps necessary for the full implementation of the relevant

resolutions of the General Assembly, and in particular for determining the extent of United Nations participation in the preparation and supervision of elections."

The following day the Iraqi Representative introduced a revised text which contained a new paragraph inserted between paragraphs (5) and (6) which deplored any defense arrangement that the United Kingdom might enter into with "the unrepresentative regime." The revised text also removed reference to the special mission being composed of members of the Special Committee. The Iraqi Representative explained that it had been felt that the Secretary-General should not be limited to the states members of the Special Committee in determining the membership of the mission but should be given greater latitude.

The revised resolution was adopted by the Committee on June 15 by a vote of 18 to 2 (Australia, U.S.), with 2 abstentions. The U.S. Representative explained that her delegation was unable to support the resolution because it appealed to the United Kingdom to end the military and civil measures but failed to deplore the terrorism which prompted such action. Nor did the resolution mention the progress already made toward independence or the steps taken by the Secretary-General in carrying out his mandate. The United States welcomed the efforts by the United Kingdom and the SAF and their willingness to accept the U.N. resolutions.

Further Consideration

On August 1 the U.K. Representative informed the Secretary-General by letter that his government accepted the operative clauses of the General Assembly resolutions on Aden, subject to recognition (1) that U.K. responsibilities for security could not be "limited or abandoned," and (2) that the United Kingdom was bound by existing treaties with the SAF and the unfederated South Arabian states until those treaties terminated. In particular the United Kingdom was constitutionally unable to direct the SAF except in foreign affairs, defense, and the public service, and could not impose changes in the Federal Constitution. The United Kingdom would be glad, the letter said, to cooperate with a mission appointed by the Secretary-General, subject to agreement on its composition, for the purposes stated in the Committee of 24's June 15 resolution. The Secretary-General reported that consultations were continuing on appointment of a mission.

The Committee of 24 discussed the U.K. declaration on August 16 and again on October 19. At the first of these meetings a number of delegations expressed concern about the reservations contained in the letter of August 1. The Yugoslav Representative, speaking as Chairman of the Subcommittee on Aden, reported that the Subcommittee considered the reservations not in accordance with the General Assembly and Special Committee resolutions. It believed that no mission should be appointed until the United Kingdom accepted the resolutions without any conditions or reservations. The U.S. Representative, Richard E. Johnson, stated that his government welcomed the prospect of a U.N. role in South Arabia and was confident that the Secretary-General would work out, with the United Kingdom, appropriate conditions for sending such a mission. Any step which might jeopardize the auspicious possibilities for a U.N. role in South Arabia would be most unfortunate, he said.

On October 19 the Representative of the Secretary-General told the Committee that the Secretary-General had taken fully into account the views of the Subcommittee on Aden and of the members of the Committee of 24 as expressed on August 16. The Secretary-General, he said, had

had several consultations with all concerned, particularly with the Chairman of the Committee of 24 and with the U.K. Representative.

General Assembly Action

Debate on Aden in the Fourth Committee ran from November 1 to 22, with 53 countries making statements. The Fourth Committee also heard petitioners from FLOSY, SAL, the Front for the Liberation of South Arabia, and the United National Party.

The U.K. Representative told the Committee on November 10 that he wished to remove any doubts or misunderstandings which had arisen as a result of the inclusion of two facts in his letter of August 1. The U.K. Representative said that by drawing attention to those facts it had not been his intention in any way to place obstacles in the way of the proposed special mission. On the contrary, he said, his government wished "to reaffirm its readiness to cooperate with the United Nations in working out practical steps by which the relevant resolutions can be implemented." It was the United Kingdom's "clear and confirmed intention to cooperate with the mission to enable it to make a full and constructive contribution." The U.K. Representative quoted these statements again in a letter to the Secretary-General on November 16.

On November 22 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Anderson, noted the assurances of the United Kingdom and said that a special mission would be a very constructive step toward dealing with those problems that remained to be solved before the territory achieved independence. While the circumstances for such a mission's operations, in light of the difficult situation in the area, might not be the best, the United States did not believe that the mission should be delayed for such reasons. One of the tasks of the mission would be to contribute to the improvement of those conditions. The United States believed that the basic purpose of such a mission had been well and concisely defined in the Committee of 24 resolution of June 15, which was repeated by the United Kingdom in stating its willingness to cooperate with the mission. The United States sincerely hoped that with the U.K. clarifications it would "be possible to form a mission and have it proceed to South Arabia in the very near future."

On November 23 Saudi Arabia introduced a draft resolution which, after noting the U.K. assurances, endorsed the Committee of 24 resolution of June 15; reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of the territory to self-determination and independence; reaffirmed the paragraph of the June 15 resolution urging the United Kingdom to abolish the state of emergency, etc.; and requested the Secretary-General "in consultation with the appropriate parties" to appoint a special mission for the purposes stated in the June 15 resolution.

On December 1 the Iraqi Representative introduced another draft resolution, which was finally sponsored by 37 Afro-Asian states and Yugoslavia. It noted the British assurances; stated that the U.N. mission to Aden should have full freedom of action and unrestricted access to all parts of the territory; and expressed concern about reports of maltreatment of prisoners in Aden and about "the critical and explosive situation which might threaten peace and security in the area owing to the failure of the administering Power to implement the relevant U.N. resolutions."

In its operative paragraphs the resolution: (1) endorsed the Committee of 24 resolutions of March 22 and June 15; (2) reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of the territory to self-determination and independ-

ence; (3) reaffirmed the paragraph of the June 15 resolution urging the United Kingdom to abolish the state of emergency, etc.; (4) further reaffirmed that only the United Kingdom was responsible to the United Nations for implementation of the resolutions on Aden; (5) requested the Secretary-General, "in consultation with the Special Committee and the administering Power," to appoint immediately a special mission to be sent to Aden for the purpose stated in the June 15 resolution; (6) requested the U.N. mission "to consider recommending, *inter alia,* practical steps for the establishment of a central caretaker government in the Territory to carry out the administration of the whole Territory and to assist in the organization of the elections"; (7) called upon the United Kingdom "to take the necessary measures, in accordance with paragraph 3 above," so that the U.N. Mission on Aden could discharge its responsibilities on the basis of the June 15 resolution; and (8) requested the Secretary-General to render all necessary assistance and facilities for the implementation of the resolution.

In introducing this resolution the Iraqi Representative stated, on behalf of the cosponsors, that "nothing in paragraph 7 should be construed as constituting a precondition to the appointment and/or dispatch of the mission to Aden." He added, however, that the cosponsors strongly urged the United Kingdom to lift the state of emergency when the mission visited Aden so as to enable it to discharge its responsibilities on the basis of the June 15 resolution of the Committee of 24.

Saudi Arabia immediately submitted an amendment to the 38-power draft which would have made the injunction in paragraph 7 "without prejudice to the implementation of operative paragraph 5." The Committee debated this amendment and the interpretation to be placed on paragraph 7 at length. Finally the U.K. Representative stated that his government would support the resolution on the understanding that "nothing in paragraph 7 should be construed as preconditions to the appointment and dispatch of the mission." This declaration went unchallenged and the Representative of Saudia Arabia then withdrew both his draft resolution and his amendment to the 38-power draft resolution.

The Fourth Committee adopted the 38-power draft resolution December 2 by a vote of 100 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions (France, Portugal, South Africa). The U.S. Representative, Mr. Johnson, stated that the United States had supported the resolution because of its firm belief that a special U.N. mission should go to Aden. The United States understood that the resolution in no way set preconditions for the sending or functioning of the mission. There were certain provisions of the resolution with which the United States did not agree and the U.S. vote should not be construed as implying that there was any change in the position it had taken in past resolutions on Aden. Rather, the U.S. affirmative vote should be construed as "evidencing our belief that the resolution lends added impetus to the call for a special U.N. mission to Aden and thereby contributes to the achievement of our goal—full self-determination for the people of Aden."

The General Assembly adopted the Aden resolution December 12 by a vote of 96 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 (France, Portugal, South Africa) again abstaining. Yemen did not participate in the vote either in committee or in plenary because of its view that only restoration of "Natural Yemen," i.e. including the "Occupied South," would "affirm the genuine independence of this natural and historic region of the Arab peninsula as a whole."

FORMER U.K. HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

The 20th General Assembly had referred back to the Committee of 24 for further consideration the question of measures to guarantee the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the former U.K. High Commission Territories—Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland—which are completely or partly surrounded by, and in varying degrees economically dependent on, the Republic of South Africa. The 20th Assembly had also established a fund for the economic development of these three territories to be financed by voluntary contributions and administered by the Secretary-General.

On June 9 the Committee of 24 adopted by a vote of 20 to 0, with 1 abstention (U.S.), a resolution which noted with satisfaction the date set for Bechuanaland's independence (September 30, 1966) and regretted that dates had not been set for the other two territories; called upon the United Kingdom to insure that independence was granted on the basis of the free expression of the will of all the people; renewed its request that all land be returned to the indigenous inhabitants; decided to establish a subcommittee on the three territories; and appealed to all states to contribute to the General Assembly's fund for the economic development of the territories. The United States abstained on the vote because the resolution recognized neither the significant political advances made in the territories nor the U.K. efforts to insure as complete economic and political independence as possible under the geographic circumstances.

Shortly after returning to New York, the Committee of 24 heard petitioners from Basutoland who urged that independence, then scheduled for October 4, be delayed until the wishes of the people could be confirmed by a general election or referendum. The Committee Chairman made a "consensus" statement that independence should not be delayed and that it should be based on the free expression of the will of the people. The United States expressed reservations on the consensus, noting that in 1965 the people of Basutoland had already freely expressed their will in electing a representative government. The U.K. and Australian Representatives made similar reservations.

On September 14 and 15 the Committee of 24 considered the report of its special Subcommittee on the three territories. The Subcommittee recommended that the General Assembly, on a priority basis, (1) again "solemnly warn" South Africa that the United Nations would consider any attempt to encroach on the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the three territories "an act of aggression" and that any attempt to interfere in their internal affairs, including their economic affairs, would be "a flagrant violation" of the U.N. Charter; (2) call to the attention of the Security Council the threat posed by South Africa; and (3) appeal to all states to refrain from any action that might encourage South Africa to encroach upon the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the three states, or to interfere in their domestic affairs.

The Subcommittee also recommended that the Committee of 24 (1) reaffirm the U.K. responsibility for insuring that the territories would attain independence in accordance with the General Assembly resolution on colonialism, particularly that the people of the territories would be able to choose their governments freely; and (2) request the United Kingdom to take all appropriate action before the territories attained independence to enable them to enjoy complete independence from South Africa.

The report of the Subcommittee was adopted by the full Committee on September 15. The United States reserved its position because it be-

lieved the report failed to take into account the fact that two of the territories would become independent in a matter of weeks and would have to seek a formula for maintaining their independence in the face of serious economic and political problems. The United Kingdom, Australia, and Denmark also expressed reservations about the Subcommittee report.

General Assembly Action

The Fourth Committee of the General Assembly placed the question of the former High Commission Territories first on its agenda in light of the impending independence of Basutoland and Bechuanaland. In addition to the report of the Committee of 24, it had before it a report by the Secretary-General which stated that the voluntary fund for the economic development of the three territories had not operated because of insufficient contributions.

On September 27 the Guinean and Iranian Representatives introduced a draft resolution ultimately cosponsored by 29 Afro-Asian states which (1) reiterated the Assembly's grave concern at the "serious threat" to the territorial integrity of the three territories posed by "the aggressive policies" of South Africa; (2) approved the Committee of 24 report on the territories and endorsed the Committee's recommendations; and (3) appealed to all states that had not done so to contribute to the voluntary economic development fund for the territories.

The Fourth Committee adopted the draft resolution on September 28 by a vote of 82 to 2 (Portugal, South Africa), with 15 (U.S.) abstentions. In explaining the U.S. vote, Ambassador Anderson reiterated the points made before the Committee of 24 earlier in the month. On September 29 the General Assembly adopted the resolution by a vote of 84 to 2, with 19 (U.S.) abstentions.

FIJI

The Committee of 24 discussed the situation in the British Colony of Fiji at seven meetings between May and September 1966. Much of the debate concerned voting methods that would promote communal harmony in Fiji, where the population is 50 percent of Indian origin, 41.5 percent of Fijian origin, and 8.5 percent of European and other origin. The 20th General Assembly had called for a system of democratic representation based on the principle of "one man, one vote." The United Kingdom had announced the institution of a system of voting by communities for some seats on the Legislative Council and by the population as a whole, regardless of community, for other seats.

On August 16 the Tanzanian Representative introduced a draft resolution, jointly sponsored by 10 Afro-Asian states and Yugoslavia which (1) reaffirmed the right of the people of Fiji to freedom and independence; (2) deeply regretted the failure of the United Kingdom to implement Committee of 24 and General Assembly resolutions on Fiji; (3) called upon the United Kingdom to hold general elections for a constituent assembly on the basis of "one man, one vote," to form a representative government, to fix an early date for independence, and to abolish all discriminatory measures so as to foster communal harmony; and (4) requested the Chairman of the Committee of 24 to appoint a subcommittee to visit Fiji.

In commenting on this draft resolution, the U.K. Representative recalled earlier statements in which he had denied charges that his country was encouraging communal differences. He supported the mixed communal voting system as an important step toward racial harmony and opposed entirely noncommunal voting as certain to exacerbate tension in the territory. The United Kingdom regretted that the draft resolution did

not recognize the major steps it had taken and that the recommendations in the resolution ran counter to the policy that the United Kingdom believed most likely to achieve the aims and objectives on which both the United Kingdom and Committee were agreed.

The Committee adopted the draft resolution on September 7, by a vote of 20 to 3 (Australia, U.K., U.S.), with 1 abstention (Italy). Ambassador Anderson explained that the United States voted against the resolution because it contained conclusions and recommendations that ignored the realities of the situation and the efforts being made to cope with them.

General Assembly Action

In the Fourth Committee of the 21st General Assembly, 23 Afro-Asian countries sponsored a draft resolution containing many of the same provisions as the resolution adopted by the Committee of 24. The draft resolution endorsed the Committee of 24 decision to send a subcommittee to Fiji and requested the Chairman of the Committee of 24, in consultation with the United Kingdom, to appoint a subcommittee as early as practicable.

Both the United States and the United Kingdom reiterated the views expressed in the Committee of 24. A proposal by Togo, Ghana, and Liberia to delete the paragraph calling for elections on the basis of "one man, one vote" was defeated on December 8 by a vote of 27 (U.S.) to 58, with 13 abstentions. The Fourth Committee then adopted the draft resolution by a vote of 76 to 6 (Australia, New Zealand, Portugal, Togo, U.K., U.S.), with 17 abstentions. The General Assembly adopted the resolution by an identical vote on December 12.

FALKLAND ISLANDS (MALVINAS)

Acting on the recommendations of the 1965 General Assembly, which noted the existence of a dispute between the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom concerning sovereignty over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and requested them to report to the Committee of 24 and the 21st General Assembly on the progress of negotiations looking toward the solution of the problem, Argentina and the United Kingdom submitted letters to the Secretary-General in August 1966 reporting that cordial talks were being conducted and would continue.

On November 16, 1966, the Committee of 24 considered these replies and adopted a statement which (1) invited both governments to proceed without delay with further negotiations, bearing in mind the U.N. Charter, the Colonialism Declaration, and the interests of the people of the islands; and (2) requested the two governments to report on the results.

On December 20 the General Assembly, acting on the recommendation of its Fourth Committee, adopted a consensus calling on both parties to continue negotiations so as to find a peaceful solution to the problem as soon as possible.

FRENCH SOMALILAND

The Committee of 24 considered the question of French Somaliland during its meetings at Mogadiscio and Addis Ababa in June 1966 and at U.N. Headquarters in October. Attention at the October meetings focused on the French Somaliland plebiscite, which, according to a Government of France announcement, was to be held before April 1967. The Committee decided to inform the 21st General Assembly that it planned to consider French Somaliland in 1967, subject to any decision taken by the Assembly.

General Assembly Action

The Fourth Committee discussed French Somaliland at five meetings

in December. On December 9, a 20-power draft resolution was introduced which reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of French Somaliland to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Colonialism Declaration; called upon the administering Power to create the proper political conditions so as to insure that the right of self-determination would be freely and democratically exercised on the basis of universal adult suffrage; and requested the administering Power to make appropriate arrangements, in consultation with the Secretary-General, for a U.N. presence before and supervision during the holding of the referendum.

On December 12, the Fourth Committee first voted on the operative paragraph of the draft resolution calling for a U.N. presence before and during the referendum. The vote on this paragraph was 70 to 2, with 32 (U.S.) abstentions. The draft resolution as a whole was then adopted by a vote of 87 to 1, with 16 (U.S.) abstentions.

On December 20 the General Assembly approved the resolution as a whole by a vote of 95 to 1, with 18 (U.S.) abstentions after the operative paragraph on a U.N. presence was sustained by a vote of 72 to 2, with 39 (U.S.) abstentions. France was not present for the discussion of French Somaliland either in the Fourth Committee or in plenary.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA (FERNANDO PÓO AND RÍO MUNI)

The Committee of 24 considered Equatorial Guinea in Africa between June 15 and 21. During this consideration the Spanish Representative invited the Committee to send a visiting mission to the territory. On June 21 the Committee voted unanimously to accept the invitation.

The subcommittee appointed for this purpose visited Equatorial Guinea in August and reported to the full Committee on November 18, making detailed recommendations for the political evolution of the territory. Among these was a recommendation that Spain should fix a date for independence which, in response to the wishes of the people, should not be later than July 1968. In this connection the Spanish Representative stated that in inviting the Committee of 24 to visit the territory his government had been aware that the invitation represented a decisive step in the Committee's work and was gratified by the subcommittee's expression of appreciation. However, Spain would have liked the subcommittee to have given greater attention to its achievements in the territory. Further, Spain was not in agreement with the recommendation fixing a date for independence, considering that it was for the population, in the exercise of self-determination, to fix the date for independence if it so wished. Other delegations, including that of the United States, expressed similar reservations regarding this recommendation.

On November 18, however, the Committee adopted the Subcommittee Report on Equatorial Guinea, noting the reservations expressed by Spain and other Committee members.

General Assembly Action

On December 15 the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly considered a resolution on Equatorial Guinea that (1) reaffirmed the right of the people to self-determination and independence; (2) thanked Spain for its cooperation; (3) invited it to remove all restrictions on political activities, establish universal adult suffrage, hold a general election before independence, set a date for independence, and convene a constitutional conference in which all sections of the population would be represented; and (4) requested the Secretary-General to establish a U.N.

presence in the territory to supervise the elections and participate in other measures leading to independence.

The Spanish Representative, noting that the Autonomous Government of Equatorial Guinea had not been consulted on the resolution's proposals, announced that Spain would abstain on the resolution. The Fourth Committee adopted the resolution on December 15 by a vote of 85 to 0, with 9 (U.S.) abstentions. The General Assembly adopted the Committee's draft resolution without change on December 20 by a vote of 109 to 0, with 7 abstentions (France, Mexico, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, U.K., U.S.).

IFNI AND SPANISH SAHARA

The Committee of 24 first considered Ifni and Spanish Sahara in 1966 on June 7 at Addis Ababa, adopting a consensus requesting the Secretary-General to convey to Spain the views expressed at that meeting by the representatives of Morocco and other countries. The Secretary-General was also asked to obtain from Spain information on implementation of the 1965 General Assembly resolution which called on the Government of Spain to take immediate measures for the liberation of the territories and to enter into negotiations on the problems relating to their sovereignty. The Committee decided to resume consideration upon receipt of the information.

The two territories were again considered between October 12 and November 17. The Committee had before it a letter from the Spanish Government stating that it might be advisable for Spain to establish contact with Morocco on the question of Ifni and stating Spain's intention to apply the principle of self-determination to Spanish Sahara.

After statements by the Representatives of Spain, Morocco, Mauritania, and Algeria, the Tunisian Representative introduced a draft resolution, ultimately cosponsored by Afghanistan, Iran, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Sierra Leone, Tunisia, and Tanzania. Revised several times, the principal paragraphs of the final draft resolution invited Spain to expedite the decolonization of Ifni and, in collaboration with the Moroccan Government, to make arrangements for the transfer of powers in accordance with the provisions of the Colonialism Declaration; requested Spain to establish without delay appropriate conditions to permit the people of Spanish Sahara to exercise their rights of self-determination and independence; and invited Spain, in consultation with the people of Sahara, and the Governments of Mauritania, Morocco, and any other parties concerned, to make arrangements for a referendum to be held under U.N. auspices to enable the indigenous population of Sahara to exercise freely their right to self-determination and to report to the Committee of 24 before the referendum was held.

On November 16 the Committee of 24 adopted the draft resolution by a vote of 19 to 0, with 3 abstentions (Denmark, U.K., U.S.). The U.S. Representative, Mr. Johnson, explained that the United States abstained since it believed that if the resolution were to succeed it would not only have to satisfy the aspirations of the indigenous population but also be supported by all the parties concerned, including the nations with legitimate interests in the territories.

General Assembly Action

The Fourth Committee considered Ifni and Spanish Sahara at a series of meetings between December 6 and 15, hearing more than 20 petitioners. On December 14 the Representatives of Kuwait and Tanzania introduced a draft resolution ultimately sponsored by 26 Afro-Asian countries and Yugoslavia. The provisions relating

to Ifni were nearly identical to those in the resolution adopted by the Committee of 24.

In its principal paragraphs concerning Spanish Sahara the draft resolution invited the administering Power to determine at the earliest possible date, in conformity with the aspirations of the indigenous population and in consultation with the Governments of Mauritania and Morocco and any other interested party, procedures for holding a referendum in Spanish Sahara under U.N. auspices, and to that end to: (1) create a favorable climate for the referendum; (2) insure that only the indigenous people of the territory participate in the referendum; (3) refrain from actions likely to delay the decolonization of Spanish Sahara; and (4) provide all necessary facilities to a U.N. mission so that it might be able to participate actively in the holding of the referendum.

The draft resolution also requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with Spain and the Committee of 24, to appoint immediately a special mission to be sent to Spanish Sahara to recommend practical steps for implementing relevant General Assembly resolutions and for determining the extent of U.N. participation in the preparations for supervision of the referendum.

On December 15 the Fourth Committee adopted the draft resolution by a vote of 85 to 0, with 9 (U.S.) abstentions. The General Assembly in plenary session adopted the Fourth Committee's draft without change on December 20 by a vote of 105 to 2 (Portugal, Spain), with 8 abstentions (Belgium, Dominican Republic, France, Honduras, Mexico, South Africa, U.S., Uruguay). Before the vote on the resolution as a whole a separate vote was taken at the request of Spain on the phrase "in consultation with the Governments of Mauritania and Morocco and any other interested party." The phrase was retained by a vote of 75 to 3, with 37 (U.S.) abstentions.

GIBRALTAR

The Committee of 24 devoted two meetings in November 1966 to the question of Gibraltar. Representatives of the United Kingdom and Spain described the talks that were then in progress between the two governments concerning the future of Gibraltar. On November 17 the Committee adopted by a vote of 16 to 0, with 6 abstentions (U.K., U.S.), a resolution sponsored by Tunisia and eight other members. This resolution regretted the delay in achieving the objectives of the Colonialism Declaration with respect to Gibraltar and called upon the United Kingdom and Spain to continue their negotiations in a constructive manner and to refrain from any acts that might hamper the success of these negotiations. Several of those who abstained did so, as the U.S. Representative explained, because the resolution was introduced orally and voted upon immediately, without allowing time to get instructions from governments.

General Assembly Action

On December 17 the Fourth Committee approved by a vote of 78 (U.S., U.K., Spain) to 0, with 12 abstentions (Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Mexico, Mongolia, Poland, Portugal, South Africa, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.), a 26-power draft resolution which (1) regretted the delay in the process of decolonization; (2) called on the United Kingdom and Spain to continue their negotiations, taking into account the interests of the people of Gibraltar; and (3) requested the administering Power to expedite, without hindrance and in consultation with Spain, the decolonization of Gibraltar, reporting the results to the Committee of 24 before the 22d session of the General Assembly. This draft res-

olution was approved in plenary on December 20 by a vote of 101 (U.S., U.K., Spain) to 0, with 14 abstentions (Belgium, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, Mexico, Mongolia, Poland, Portugal, Romania, South Africa, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.).

SMALL TERRITORIES

A number of small territories that were considered separately or in groups by the Committee of 24 were subsequently considered all together in an omnibus resolution by the General Assembly.

Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn, and the Solomon Islands

On September 19 the Committee of 24 considered and adopted the report of its Subcommittee II on these islands. The Committee concluded that, although the United Kingdom was introducing some constitutional changes in these territories, progress toward implementation of the Colonialism Declaration was not sufficient and must be speeded up. The Committee stated that the political institutions of the territories were not yet fully representative and that the economic base of the territories needed to be strengthened. The Committee also expressed its awareness of the peculiar problems of these small and isolated islands.

In its recommendations, the Committee reiterated its 1964 call for the speedy implementation of the Colonialism Declaration, adding that a visiting mission to the territories was necessary.

The United Kingdom reserved its position on the report, regretting that it did not adequately reflect the special circumstances in the territories. The U.S. Representative also expressed general reservations.

New Hebrides

On September 19 the Committee of 24 adopted the conclusions and recommendations of its Subcommittee II concerning the New Hebrides, which is jointly administered by the United Kingdom and France. The Committee concluded that little progress had been made toward the implementation of the Colonialism Declaration and that the political institutions of the territory were not representative of the people. The Committee also indicated that it was aware of the peculiar problems resulting from the condominium status of the territory. It recommended that urgent measures should be taken to implement the Colonialism Declaration in the territory and that the people should be provided with an early opportunity to express their wishes with regard to that Declaration. The Committee also called for accelerated economic and social advancement of the territory, called for reform of the administration of the condominium, and concluded that a Committee of 24 visiting mission was necessary.

Niue and Tokelau Islands

On September 19 the Committee of 24 adopted the report of its Subcommittee II on Niue and the Tokelau Islands. The report concluded that progress toward self-government in the territories had not always kept pace with changing times. It commended the statement of the Administering Authority, New Zealand, that the Colonialism Declaration continued to express the objectives of its policy toward the islands and it noted with satisfaction the willingness of New Zealand to receive a visiting mission to these territories, were such a visit to form part of a wider tour of the area. The Committee expressed the opinion that the peculiar problems of size, isolation, and limited resources, though important, should not delay the implementation of the Colonialism Declaration.

In its recommendations, the Committee reiterated its 1964 call on New

Zealand to enable the people of the territories to express their wishes in accordance with the provisions of the Colonialism Declaration through well-established democratic processes under U.N. supervision, adding that a visiting mission to the territories was necessary.

Guam and American Samoa

Subcommittee II considered Guam and American Samoa together with the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (see page 190) between August 9 and September 7. The U.S. Representative, Mr. Johnson, told the Subcommittee that there had been steady economic, social, and political progress in Guam and American Samoa since the Subcommittee last discussed the territories in 1964.

He described the continuing efforts made to strengthen the economy of American Samoa, including the construction of a new jet airport, a tourist hotel, a tuna cannery, and a coconut processing plant. In the field of education the construction of new schools and the use of advanced techniques, including educational television, provided all children of school age with expert instruction and excellent educational facilities.

In the political field he noted that the 1960 Constitution of American Samoa required that it be reviewed periodically. A Constitutional Review Committee had therefore been established. It had now completed its work and would submit its proposals to a convention in October 1966. If a new draft constitution resulted from this convention it would be submitted to the electorate for ratification in November 1966.

Turning to Guam, the U.S. Representative stated that the people there had long enjoyed a high degree of self-government through an elected legislature with broad authority. Although the Governor of Guam was still appointed by the President of the United States, legislation providing for the popular election of the Governor had already passed in one House of the Congress. The U.S. Representative also described the extensive economic advancement that had taken place in Guam.

On September 29 the full Committee considered and adopted the report of its Subcommittee on the three territories. The report concluded that the United States had taken some positive steps but still retained considerable powers of control in executive and legislative spheres thus restricting the exercise of self-government by the people of the territories, and that the political institutions and executive machinery were not fully representative of the people. It noted the various plans announced by the United States to strengthen the economies of the territories and felt that the efforts to exploit and develop the indigenous resources should be further intensified; indicated that it was particularly aware of the dependence of the economy of Guam on U.S. military and other activities; noted that U.S. legislation providing for direct election of the Governor of Guam was expected to be enacted in the near future and that a constitutional convention was soon to be held in American Samoa; and, finally, noted that notwithstanding these developments there was no timetable of effective measures for speedy implementation of the Colonialism Declaration.

In its recommendations, the report reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of the three territories to self-government and independence in conformity with the Colonialism Declaration and recommended that the United States accelerate the further political development of the territories by expanding the functions and legislative powers of their peoples and by vesting executive authority in the indigenous population. The report urged that the economic growth of the territories be further expedited by fully developing their agriculture and

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industrial potential and, particularly in Guam, by implementing as soon as possible plans for the diversification of the economy. In that regard, the assistance of the United Nations and its specialized agencies could be utilized effectively. The report requested an increase in educational and training facilities in the territories. Finally, the report recommended that a visit to the territories by the Committee of 24 was necessary since, in addition to familiarizing the member states with the needs and aspirations of the people, such a visit would also increase the people's awareness of the rights which had been guaranteed to them by the United Nations.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Anderson, stated that with regard to American Samoa the report's call for "positive steps" in political development did not give sufficient weight to recent political developments, particularly the review of the Samoan Constitution by a committee appointed upon the request of the Samoan legislature. In Guam steps had been taken toward providing for an elected governor. She added that the people of Guam were American citizens and the people of Samoa were American nationals, and that there was a universal desire in these territories for a continuing, close association with the United States.

The U.S. Representative recalled that during the Subcommittee's discussions, the U.S. delegation had urged that the recommendations on the territories should include a reference to General Assembly Resolution 1541 of December 15, 1960, which states that a dependent territory can be said to have achieved self-government through (1) independence, (2) free association with an independent state, or (3) integration with an independent state. It was essential that the range of possibilities set out by the General Assembly for territories such as Guam and American Samoa be reflected in the recommendations of the Committee of 24, and the United States considered the report incomplete without such a reference. With regard to the question of visiting missions, the United States felt that it would be hard to justify visiting missions to Guam and American Samoa, territories that had free, open societies and a high level of general development.

The Committee of 24 adopted the Subcommittee report without change, but recorded the views of the United States. The United Kingdom also expressed reservations on the report.

Cocos (Keeling) Islands

On September 29 the Committee of 24 adopted the report of its Subcommittee II on all Australian dependent territories (see page 193 for general conclusions and recommendations). With specific reference to the Cocos Islands, the Committee noted that they have special problems of size and economic viability, but that these factors should not preclude Australia from complying with the Colonialism Declaration. The Committee recommended that the people of the territory be given an opportunity to express their wishes regarding their future status and the assistance that the United Nations could extend.

Mauritius, Seychelles, and St. Helena

On October 6 the Committee of 24 adopted the report of its Subcommittee I on Mauritius, Seychelles, and St. Helena. The report concluded that the United Kingdom had not only failed to implement the Colonialism Declaration in the islands, but had also violated the territorial integrity of both Mauritius and Seychelles by creating a new political unit, the British Indian Ocean Territory, in direct contravention of the Colonialism Declaration. The report noted with regret the slow pace of political development in the territories, particularly in the Seychelles and St. Helena. It also noted with deep con-

cern a reported plan purporting among other things to establish military bases in Mauritius and Seychelles as well as an airbase on Ascension Island, a plan that was causing anxiety in the territories concerned and among people in Africa and Asia.

In its principal recommendations the Committee reaffirmed the applicability of the Colonialism Declaration and urged the United Kingdom to allow the people to exercise their right of self-determination without delay. The report also recommended that free elections be held as soon as possible, leading to the establishment of governments to which all powers could be transferred. It called upon the United Kingdom to refrain from establishing military bases in the territories and to respect the territorial integrity of Mauritius and Seychelles. Finally, it recommended that the General Assembly state categorically that any bilateral agreements between the United Kingdom and other powers affecting the sovereignty and fundamental rights of the territories should not be recognized as valid.

U.S. Virgin Islands

The U.S. Virgin Islands were considered by Subcommittee III at various meetings between August 18 and September 16. The U.S. Representative, Mr. Johnson, described the economic and social developments that had taken place since the Committee last considered the territory in 1964 and noted that the recommendations of the 1964 Virgin Islands Constitutional Convention had been transmitted to the President and Congress of the United States in July 1965. The Convention had not recommended any drastic changes in the relationship of the Virgin Islands to the Federal Government but had suggested amendments to the Organic Act, including a popularly elected governor, to give the people of the territory greater control over local, political, and fiscal affairs. The U.S. Representative stated that legislation providing for an elected governor had been passed by the U.S. House of Representatives and was then being considered by the Senate, and that legislation putting into effect the Convention's recommendation for reapportionment of the Virgin Islands legislature had already been passed by both Houses of Congress. Other recommendations were being carefully considered by the U.S. Government.

In conclusion he stated that the progress already achieved clearly demonstrated the strong interest of the United States in insuring self-determination for the people of the Virgin Islands.

In its conclusions and recommendations the Subcommittee reaffirmed the applicability of the Colonialism Declaration to the territory. It noted that the Virgin Islands Constitutional Convention proposed a new Organic Act providing for a greater degree of autonomy, but that so far the United States had implemented only one of the recommendations, and the proposed bill for an elected governor had not yet been enacted. The report regretted that despite some political advancement, the United States had not yet implemented the Colonialism Declaration and urged it to do so without delay. It reaffirmed the right of the people to self-determination. It invited the United States to insure that the people of the Virgin Islands (1) are enabled, in complete freedom and without any restrictions, to express their wishes concerning the future political status of the territory, and (2) are fully aware of the various alternatives open to them in achieving the objectives of the Colonialism Declaration without precluding any of the alternative possibilities contained in General Assembly Resolution 1541 (XV) (independence, free association with an independent state, or integration with an independent state). The report

considered that a U.N. presence during the procedures for the exercise of self-determination was indispensable. It regretted that the United States had not agreed to a Committee of 24 visiting mission to the territory, affirmed that such a visit was necessary, and invited U.S. cooperation in making possible such a visit.

On November 16, 1966, the full Committee considered the report. An amendment proposed by the Representative of Mali deleting the phrase "without precluding the possibilities contained in General Assembly Resolution 1541 (XV)" was adopted over strong U.S. objections by a vote of 11 to 6 (U.S.), with 3 abstentions. The Committee subsequently adopted the report on the same day, noting the general reservations of the United States on the recommendations and conclusions of the report.

British Caribbean Territories

On November 16 the Committee of 24 adopted the report of its Subcommittee III on the British Caribbean islands—Antigua, Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Turks and Caicos Islands—which included a series of general conclusions and recommendations as well as some applicable to specific territories.

In its general recommendations and conclusions the Committee (1) reaffirmed the applicability of the Colonialism Declaration; (2) recognized that their small size, population, and economic potential presented peculiar problems which demanded special attention; (3) reaffirmed that it is for the peoples of the territories alone to choose the political status they wish to achieve the objectives of the Colonialism Declaration, and that they have the right to exercise self-determination in complete freedom and in full knowledge of the various forms of political status opened to them; (4) expressed its belief that, particularly in the case of small territories, the United Nations should insure that the people are enabled to express themselves freely on their future status; (5) urged the United Kingdom to enable the Committee of 24 to send a visiting mission to the territories; (6) recalled its belief that it should be possible for these territories to join with others in the area to form an economically and administratively viable state; (7) regretted that the negotiations then in progress with a view to establishing a federation were not successful and that each territory had been obliged to seek a separate solution; and, finally, (8) expressed the hope that the United Kingdom would do everything possible to facilitate the kind of solution desired by the people.

In conclusions and recommendations specifically applicable to the British Virgin Islands, the Committee noted with concern the 1965 observations of the Constitutional Commissioner that discontent in the territory resulted largely from inadequate communication between the government and the people. The Committee trusted that the United Kingdom would take urgent steps to remedy the situation; regretted that, despite a measure of advancement in the constitutional field, the United Kingdom had not yet implemented the Colonialism Declaration with respect to the territory; and urged it to do so without delay.

The Committee welcomed the fixing of November 30, 1966, as the date on which Barbados would become independent, noting that it was still possible for it to become part of a federation, should its people so desire.

With respect to the Bahamas, Bermuda, and Turks and Caicos Islands, the Committee regretted that the United Kingdom had not yet implemented the Colonialism Declaration

and urged it to do so without delay; recommended the dispatch of a visiting mission to the territories as soon as possible; and considered that the United Kingdom should take immediate measures to transfer all powers to the peoples of the territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.

The Committee decided that there was insufficient time to give detailed consideration to Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, and after hearing a petitioner from Grenada, the Committee postponed further consideration of these territories until early 1967.

The U.S. Representative expressed general reservations on the adoption of the report.

General Assembly Action

On November 10 the Fourth Committee began its consideration of all the chapters of the Committee of 24 report on small dependent territories.

On December 17 a draft resolution sponsored by 24 Afro-Asian states and Yugoslavia was introduced concerning all the small territories except Barbados, which had become independent. In its preambular paragraphs the draft resolution indicated deep concern at the information contained in the Committee of 24 report on the continuation of policies aiming at the disruption of the territorial integrity of some of the territories and at the creation by the administering Powers of military bases and installations in contravention of General Assembly resolutions. It also deplored the refusal of some administering Powers to allow U.N. visiting missions and stated that these situations required the continued attention and the assistance of the United Nations in the achievement of the objectives of the U.N. Charter and the Colonialism Declaration. The final preambular paragraph indicated awareness of the special geographic and economic circumstances of some of the territories.

In its operative paragraphs the draft resolution (1) approved the chapters of the Committee of 24 report concerning these territories; (2) reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples to self-determination and independence; (3) called upon the administering Powers to implement without delay the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly; (4) reiterated the Assembly's finding in the Colonialism Declaration that any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of colonial territories and the establishment of military bases and installations in these territories is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the U.N. Charter and of the Colonialism Declaration; (5) urged the administering Powers to allow U.N. visiting missions; (6) decided that the United Nations should render all help to the people of these territories in their efforts to decide freely their future status; and (7) requested the Committee of 24 to continue to pay special attention to these territories and to report on the implementation of this resolution at the 22d General Assembly.

The Fourth Committee voted on this draft resolution the same day. At the request of the Philippines a separate vote was taken on the phrase "and at the creation by the administering Powers of military bases and installations" in the preambular paragraph. The phrase was retained by a vote of 48 to 11 (Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Greece, Netherlands, New Zealand, Philippines, Portugal, U.K., U.S.), with 23 abstentions. The draft resolution as a whole was then adopted by a vote of

62 to 0, with 21 abstentions (Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Italy, Japan, Malaysia, Maldive Islands, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, U.K., U.S.).

On December 20 the General Assembly took up the Committee text. A separate vote was taken on the operative paragraph regarding the establishment of military bases; the paragraph was retained by a vote of 72 to 18 (Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Greece, Iceland, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Philippines, Portugal, South Africa, Sweden, U.K., U.S.), with 27 abstentions (Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, China, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, Iran, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Laos, Malagasy Republic, Maldive Islands, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Thailand, Turkey, Uruguay, Venezuela). The resolution as a whole was then adopted by a vote of 93 to 0, with 24 abstentions (Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Maldive Islands, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Portugal, South Africa, Sweden, Thailand, U.K., U.S.).

In explanation of the U.S. vote, Ambassador Anderson stated that although the United States agreed with the main objectives of the resolution, it was forced to abstain, finding it difficult to accept some of the preambular and operative paragraphs. In particular, the United States had reservations about the paragraphs concerning the establishment of military bases. Nothing in the U.N. Charter in any way abridged the right of a member nation to establish and maintain military bases deemed essential to its security.

International Assistance to Portugal and South Africa

At a series of meetings between September 9 and 15 the Committee of 24 considered the implementation of the paragraphs of the two 1965 General Assembly resolutions that appealed to all U.N. specialized agencies, particularly the IBRD and the IMF, to refrain from granting Portugal any financial, economic, or technical assistance so long as Portugal failed to implement the Colonialism Declaration; and requested all states and international institutions, including the specialized agencies, to withhold assistance of any kind from Portugal and South Africa until they renounced their policies of colonial domination and racial discrimination.

The Committee of 24 had before it a note from the Secretariat transmitting the replies received by the Secretary-General from various international institutions concerning the implementation of the resolutions. Those from the IBRD and the IMF advised the Secretary-General that the resolutions had been brought to the attention of their respective directors.

Representatives of the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, and several Afro-Asian countries stated that not only had the IBRD and the IMF evaded the question in their responses, thus repudiating the wishes of the overwhelming majority of U.N. members, but the IBRD had just approved two loans to Portugal and a loan to South Africa.

On September 14 a draft resolution, sponsored by the Committee's Afro-Asian members and Yugoslavia, was introduced. In its operative paragraphs it expressed appreciation to those international institutions and specialized agencies that were acting in accordance with the resolution and

appealed to them to continue their efforts; expressed deep disappointment at the granting of new loans and the extension of credits to the Governments of South Africa and Portugal by the IBRD and the IMF; and urged the IBRD and the IMF to cooperate in the implementation of the resolutions by refraining from rendering any financial or other assistance to Portugal and South Africa until they had "renounced their policies of colonial domination and racial discrimination."

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Anderson, agreeing with the Australian Representative, said that in light of the agreement between the United Nations and the IBRD that neither organization was to present formal recommendations to the other without reasonable prior consultation, the United States had reservations with regard to the draft resolution.

On September 15 the Committee of 24 adopted the draft resolution by a vote of 16 to 0, with 7 (U.S.) abstentions.

The question of IBRD and IMF assistance to these two countries was raised again in the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly during consideration of a draft resolution on Portuguese territories (see page 221).

Colonialism Resolution

At the 21st General Assembly, as in previous years, the Committee of 24's review of its 1966 work as a whole and its recommendations for 1967 were debated in plenary session.

On December 9 the Committee Chairman introduced a lengthy draft resolution that was ultimately sponsored by 26 Afro-Asian states. Among other things, it noted "with deep regret" that 6 years after the adoption of the Colonialism Declaration many territories were still under colonial domination; declared that the continuation of colonial rule threatened international peace and security and that *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination constituted a crime against humanity; reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples under colonial rule to achieve self-determination and independence and urged all states to assist national liberation movements in colonial territories; requested the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, other international relief organizations, and the specialized agencies to increase their assistance to refugees from colonial territories; and requested all states to withhold assistance to Portugal, South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia.

In other paragraphs the resolution condemned the activities of foreign financial and economic interests in colonial territories, particularly in southern Africa, and called upon the governments concerned to take the necessary measures to end them; condemned the policies of "certain" administering Powers of "imposing non-representative régimes and constitutions, strengthening the position of foreign financial and economic interests, misleading world public opinion and encouraging the systematic influx of foreign immigrants," and called upon the Powers to stop these practices; and requested the "colonial Powers to dismantle their military bases and installations in colonial Territories and to refrain from establishing new ones and from using those that still exist to interfere with the liberation of the peoples in colonial Territories in the exercise of their legitimate rights to freedom and independence."

The resolution approved the Committee's annual report and its work program for 1967; requested administering authorities to allow visiting missions in their territories; requested the Committee to apprise the Security Council of developments in territories it had studied that might threaten international peace and security, and to make suggestions for

Council action; invited the Committee to recommend deadlines for independence, and recommend to the General Assembly methods for populations of small territories to exercise their rights of self-determination and independence; and requested the Committee to continue seeking means for immediate and full implementation of the Colonialism Declaration in territories not yet independent.

The resolution requested the Secretary-General to publicize the Colonialism Declaration and the Committee's work, and to continue providing the necessary financing and facilities; and, finally, decided to include in the provisional agenda of the 22d Assembly an item entitled "Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination."

When this draft resolution came up for a vote on December 13 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Anderson, supported the Philippine Representative's request for a separate vote on the paragraph concerning the dismantling of military bases. She said that this paragraph clearly constituted, in the words of the U.N. Charter, a recommendation "with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security," and therefore required a two-thirds majority for adoption. She asked that it be considered adopted only if it received a two-thirds majority.

Several Afro-Asian representatives opposed this motion, as they had opposed similar motions at the 20th General Assembly, on the grounds that the requirement for a two-thirds majority was meant to apply only in cases where cooperation among sovereign parties was involved. Since military bases in colonial territories had been imposed on the people, they argued, this was not a matter of cooperation among sovereign equals, and the requirement for a two-thirds majority did not apply.

The United States proposal that the paragraph concerning military bases required a two-thirds majority was defeated 55 to 38 (U.S.), with 9 abstentions. The paragraph itself was adopted by a vote of 58 to 23 (U.S.), with 21 abstentions, and the resolution as a whole was adopted by a vote of 76 to 7 (Australia, Malta, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, U.K., U.S.), with 20 abstentions (Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, France, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden).

Portuguese Territories

Committee of 24 Consideration

During its trip to Africa, the Committee of 24 discussed the Portuguese African territories (Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea) at meetings in Algiers and Dar es Salaam between May 25 and June 22. The Committee heard 10 petitioners, including representatives of various nationalist movements. Many of the petitioners told the Committee that Portugal was forcibly denying self-determination to the peoples of its

African territories and that members of NATO, particularly the United States, were supplying Portugal with arms which were being used against the peoples of the territories.

In the debate that followed, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Anderson, reiterated that the United States strongly supports the right to self-determination of the peoples of Portugal's non-self-governing territories, and informed the Committee that neither NATO as an organization nor the United States exported arms to Portugal for use in Portugal's African territories.

On June 22, at Algiers, the Committee adopted by a vote of 18 to 1 (U.S.), with 3 abstentions (Australia, Denmark, Italy), a draft resolution on the Portuguese territories, sponsored by the 12 Afro-Asian members and Yugoslavia. In its principal preambular paragraphs, the resolution expressed concern at the critical and explosive situation which was "threatening peace and security arising from the intensification of the measures of repression and military operations against the African people of these territories; which [was] further aggravated by the racist minority rebellion in Southern Rhodesia"; noted that the activities of foreign financial interests impeding freedom and independence continued undiminished; and noted Portugal's continued use of aid and weapons received from its military allies against the peoples of the territories.

The operative paragraphs of the resolution reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of the territories to freedom and independence in accordance with the Colonialism Declaration, and recognized the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve self-determination; condemned Portugal's colonial policy and its persistent refusal to implement U.N. resolutions; condemned, as a violation of the economic and political rights of the indigenous population, Portugal's policy of large scale foreign immigration into the territories and the export of indigenous labor to South Africa; condemned the activities of financial interests operating in the Portuguese territories which exploit the human and material resources and impede the progress of the people of the territories toward freedom and independence; appealed to all states to give to the peoples of the territories the moral and material support necessary for the restoration of their inalienable rights, and to prevent their nationals from cooperating with Portuguese authorities in the field of foreign investments; recommended to the Security Council that it make obligatory the General Assembly's December 21, 1965, recommendation for diplomatic and economic measures against Portugal; requested all states and particularly the military allies of Portugal within NATO to (1) desist forthwith from giving the Portuguese Government any assistance which would enable it to continue its repression of the African people in the territories under its domination, and (2) embargo the sale and supply to Portugal of arms and military equipment and equipment and materials for their maintenance and manufacture; appealed to the specialized agencies, particularly the IBRD and the IMF, to deny economic or technical assistance to Portugal so long as Portugal failed to implement the Colonialism Declaration; and requested increased assistance for refugees from the Portuguese territories.

Before the resolution as a whole was adopted several paragraphs were voted on individually. The paragraph condemning Portugal's colonial policy was upheld by a vote of 20 (U.S.) to 0. The paragraph recommending that the Security Council make obligatory diplomatic and economic measures against Portugal was retained by a vote of 15 to 3 (U.S., Australia, Denmark), with 2 abstentions (Chile, Venezuela). The request to all states, particularly NATO countries, to impose an arms embargo on Portugal was retained by a vote of 16 to 2 (Australia, U.S.), with 3 absten-

tions (Chile, Denmark, Venezuela). The paragraph appealing to the specialized agencies, particularly the IBRD and IMF, to deny economic and technical assistance to Portugal was retained by a vote of 16 to 0, with 5 abstentions (Australia, Chile, Denmark, U.S., Venezuela).

In explaining her vote, the U.S. Representative stated that the United States did not believe some of the language used or the measures called for in the resolution were justified even in the serious situation existing in the Portuguese territories. She referred specifically to the resolution's call for mandatory economic and political measures. In addition the United States could not agree with the resolution's generalized and doctrinaire statements regarding the role of foreign investment in the territories. The United States, therefore, opposed the draft resolution.

During its consideration of Portuguese territories in Algiers, the Committee had before it as an official Committee document a note from the Government of Portugal to the Secretary-General, transmitting corrections to what it regarded as errors in a working paper on Portuguese territories prepared by the Secretariat. Following a statement by a representative of the Secretary-General concerning the circumstances in which the note was circulated as an official document, the Tanzanian Representative moved that the Committee should request the Secretary-General to withdraw the letter and in the future not to circulate similar communications as official Committee documents without prior consultation with the Committee. The Committee adopted the Tanzanian proposal by a vote of 15 to 4 (Australia, Denmark, Italy, U.S.), with 2 abstentions (Chile, Venezuela).

The U.S. and several other representatives defended the right of the Secretary-General to circulate any document, stating that it is the right of every U.N. member to have its communications circulated as official documents and that a dangerous precedent affecting all members would be established if the majority were to suppress the views of a member with whom it disagreed.

ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC AND OTHER INTERESTS

During August and September 1966 the Committee's Subcommittee I continued its consideration, begun in 1964, of activities of foreign economic and other interests that were "impeding" the implementation of the Colonialism Declaration in the Portuguese African territories. The Subcommittee had before it additional working papers prepared by the U.N. Secretariat.

The previous year, on October 27, 1965, the full Committee had approved, over strong U.S. objections, a lengthy report on the subject which concluded that the presence of foreign economic and other interests was impeding the progress of the territories toward independence. Specifically, the report concluded that Portugal had expropriated rights to the natural resources of the territories that belonged inalienably to the inhabitants of the territories. According to the report, by granting to foreign investors concessions to exploit this wealth in return for a share in the profits, Portugal was not only establishing an economic base from which to obtain funds to finance its activities in the territories, but was enlisting these firms as active supporters and accomplices in its policy of political and economic repression of the inhabitants.

On October 10, 1966, the full Committee adopted a supplementary report prepared by Subcommittee I that confirmed the conclusions of the previous year. The U.S. Representative reserved the U.S. position on the report for the reasons stated when the previous report was adopted. At that time the United States had criticized

the report for being based on oversimplified, out-worn, and doctrinaire Marxist views.

General Assembly Consideration

Consideration of the Portuguese territories at the 21st General Assembly began in the Fourth Committee on November 23 with the hearing of several petitioners representing independence movements in Portuguese Africa. The petitioners urged the United Nations to impose a complete economic embargo against Portugal; to prevent further military assistance to the Government of Portugal; to provide increasing assistance to the African people in the territories; and to expand existing educational and training programs for the people of the territories.

On November 28, the General Counsel of the IBRD made a statement to the Committee in defense of the Bank's lending policies vis-a-vis Portugal and South Africa. He noted the article of the Bank's agreement with the United Nations that provided for consultation between the two bodies prior to the presentation of formal recommendations, stating that in the view of the Bank the provision had more than merely formal significance. In such consultation, he said, the parties have an opportunity to test the appropriateness of proposed recommendations against their respective constitutional provisions. In this connection, he noted that the Bank's Articles of Agreement provide that the "Bank and its officers shall not interfere in the political affairs of any member nor shall they be influenced in their decisions by the political character of the member or members concerned. Only economic considerations shall be relevant to their decisions. . . ."

Subsequently, the U.N. Legal Counsel, in response to questioning by representatives of several Afro-Asian and Eastern European countries, stated that in his opinion the United Nations had not fulfilled its obligation for prior consultation with the IBRD, but he took exception to the IBRD Counsel's interpretation of the portion of the Articles of Agreement dealing with the prohibition of political activities. It seemed doubtful to him that the section was intended to preclude the considerations dealt with in the relevant General Assembly resolutions which involved international obligations under the U.N. Charter. Rather, he believed that its purpose was to prohibit interference in the internal political affairs of member states and discrimination against states because of the political character of their governments.

On November 29 the Portuguese Representative denied statements of the various petitioners of alleged atrocities, declaring that Portugal had pioneered in multi-racialism and its traditional policy upheld equality of all its nationals whether in the mother country or in the overseas territories. With regard to the allegation concerning foreign investments, he said that the sole objective in admitting these investments in the overseas territories was to hasten the pace of economic development. He said that they had no political implication and were bound to lead to a higher standard of living for the local population.

On December 5 a draft resolution on the Portuguese territories, ultimately sponsored by 44 Afro-Asian countries, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, and Yugoslavia, was introduced. The principal paragraphs were nearly identical to those in the resolution adopted by the Committee of 24 on June 22. The most significant change was in the operative paragraph condemning Portugal's policy of settling foreign immigrants

in the territories and exporting African workers to South Africa, which was altered so as to condemn that policy as a "crime against humanity."

The Fourth Committee approved the draft resolution by a vote of 76 to 12 (Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, U.K., U.S.), with 24 abstentions. Before approving the resolution as a whole, several paragraphs were voted on individually. By a vote of 71 to 13 (Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, U.K., U.S., Uruguay), with 20 abstentions, the Committee adopted the paragraph condemning Portuguese policy as a crime against humanity. The paragraph condemning activities of foreign financial interests in the territories was retained by a vote of 82 to 8 (Belgium, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, U.K., U.S.), with 14 abstentions. The paragraph recommending that the Security Council make obligatory for all states the implementation of the political and economic measures against Portugal was retained by a vote of 66 to 19 (Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, U.K., U.S., Uruguay), with 18 abstentions. The paragraph calling upon allies of Portugal to cease supplying military aid to her was retained by a vote of 72 to 8 (Belgium, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, U.K., U.S.), with 24 abstentions.

U.S. POSITION

In explanation of our vote, the U.S. Representative said that the United States had consistently supported the right of the people of Portugal's African territories to self-determination. There could be no valid reason for denying them the privilege of freely deciding their political future.

The United States was sympathetic to some elements in the draft resolution, she continued, but those elements were indissolubly linked to others that went so far as to serve no useful purpose at that time or encroached on the responsibilities of the Security Council. The United States had reservations in regard to the heavy emphasis placed on the influence of outside forces in the present situation in the territories; the primary responsibility for the present situation must be borne by Portugal. In addition, neither the United States nor the North Atlantic Treaty Organization provided arms or military equipment for use in those territories.

ASSEMBLY ACTION

On December 12, the General Assembly adopted without change the Fourth Committee draft resolution by a vote of 70 to 13 (Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, U.K., U.S.), with 22 abstentions (Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, France, Greece, Honduras, Iceland, Italy, Malawi, Mexico, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Sweden, Turkey, Uruguay, Venezuela).

Southern Rhodesia

Throughout 1966 the question of Southern Rhodesia continued to occupy a prominent position in the deliberations of the Security Council, the General Assembly, and the Committee of 24. Repeated Security Council consideration of Southern Rhodesia culminated in a historic decision on December 16, 1966, to adopt selective mandatory economic sanctions against the rebel Ian Smith regime.

First Security Council Consideration, April 9

The Security Council's decisions of November 12 and 20, 1965, had set in motion a program of voluntary economic sanctions directed at Southern Rhodesia in which the Council had called on all states to refrain from assisting the illegal Smith regime and to do their utmost to break all economic relations with it, including an embargo on oil and petroleum products.

Early in April 1966, attempts were made to circumvent the voluntary oil embargo by sending oil tankers to Beira, Mozambique, from where oil could be pumped directly by pipeline to Southern Rhodesia. On the grounds that such action, specifically the arrival of the oil tanker *Joanna V* and the impending arrival of the tanker *Manuela* at the port of Beira, could lead to a collapse of the entire sanctions program against Southern Rhodesia, the United Kingdom urgently requested a meeting of the Security Council on April 7.

When the Council held a one-day meeting on April 9, the U.K. Representative, Lord Caradon, expressed his "profound dissatisfaction" that the Council President, Ambassador Keita of Mali, had not convened the Council earlier. In his view, a grave and serious precedent would be created if the President of the Council did not act promptly in accordance with the provisional rules of procedure in urgent cases of this kind. The Representatives of Uganda and the Soviet Union took the position that time was needed to enable delegations to consult their governments, a view also expressed by the Council President when he called the meeting.

Lord Caradon submitted a draft resolution which noted that the supply of oil would enable the rebel regime to continue in existence, and which (1) determined that the resulting situation constituted a threat to the peace; (2) called upon the Portuguese Government not to permit oil to be pumped through the pipeline from Beira to Southern Rhodesia; (3) called upon the Portuguese Government not to receive at Beira oil destined for Southern Rhodesia; (4) called upon all states to insure the diversion of any of their vessels reasonably believed to be en route for Beira, carrying oil destined for Southern Rhodesia; (5) called upon the U.K. Government to prevent, by the use of force if necessary, the arrival at Beira of vessels reasonably believed to be carrying oil destined for Southern Rhodesia; and (6) empowered the United Kingdom to arrest and detain the tanker known as the *Joanna V* upon her departure from Beira in the event her oil cargo was discharged there.

Before voting on the U.K. draft resolution, the Security Council rejected four amendments submitted by Mali, Nigeria, and Uganda, which would have noted that economic measures had failed to produce the desired political results; described the situation prevailing in Southern Rhodesia itself as a "threat to peace and

security"; called upon South Africa to take all measures necessary to prevent the supply of oil to Southern Rhodesia; and called upon the United Kingdom to prevent "by all means including the use of force, the transportation into Southern Rhodesia" of oil.

The British draft resolution was adopted on April 9 by a vote of 10 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 abstentions (Bulgaria, France, Mali, U.S.S.R., Uruguay).

In his statement to the Council, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, strongly supported the U.K. resolution. He said that Southern Rhodesia was a responsibility of the British Government, and that the United Kingdom was entirely committed to bringing an end to the Smith regime. The United Kingdom had, he said, returned to the Council to receive additional backing for new, firm steps which deserved the full cooperation of the Council.

The U.S. Representative noted that "what Britain is asking for in terms of substance is not by any means inconsequential. On the contrary, it is one of the gravest and most far-reaching proposals that has been made to this Council." He said that the question of intercepting vessels on the high seas, of arresting and detaining them, had a long history in international law. It was not easy for the United States to decide to support this resolution, in the light of American history and traditions.

Ambassador Goldberg, noting that the United States had not recognized the Smith regime, listed the following measures that the United States had taken against Southern Rhodesia.

It had: (1) instituted an embargo of arms and military equipment; (2) suspended action on applications for U.S. Government loans and credit guarantees and issued no further investment guarantees; (3) supported the financial measures instituted by the U.K. Government; (4) persuaded U.S. importers of Rhodesian asbestos and lithium to find other sources; (5) "recommended in the strongest terms" to U.S. companies that they comply with U.K. Orders-in-Council banning trade in Rhodesian chrome and tobacco; (6) discouraged private travel by U.S. citizens to Southern Rhodesia; (7) cut off virtually all U.S. exports of consequence; (8) suspended Southern Rhodesia's sugar quota for 1965 and 1966; and (9) instituted a total embargo on all U.S. petroleum and petroleum products to Southern Rhodesia. Ambassador Goldberg also mentioned that the United States had joined in an airlift of petroleum products to Zambia "in order to aid that landlocked nation in maintaining its economy."

In his statement, the U.S. Representative said that he would subsequently give the detailed views of the United States with respect to the delayed convening of the Council. Accordingly, in a letter dated April 21, 1966, he noted that under the Charter of the United Nations and the rules of procedure of the Security Council, a request for an urgent meeting of the Security Council must be respected by the President of the Council, with the timing of the meeting responsive to the urgency of the situation. This was especially true, if, on consultation, the President found that a majority of members favored the immediate convening of the Council. The British request of April 7 was an urgent one, and a majority of members were in favor of meeting that day. The delay in calling the meeting, therefore, was not in keeping with the rules of procedure of the Security Council and was not an acceptable precedent for future action.

Committee of 24 Consideration

The Committee of 24 met early in April when it was learned that tankers were en route to Beira, Mozam-

bique, with cargoes of oil presumably destined for Southern Rhodesia. On April 6 in a statement adopted as the initial "consensus" of the Committee, the Committee Chairman, Ambassador Collier of Sierra Leone, said that although the British tried to prevent the *Joanna V* from reaching Mozambique, the United Kingdom was responsible for the rapid deterioration of the situation in Southern Rhodesia; that reports of oil reaching Southern Rhodesia through Portuguese and South African territory demonstrated the failure of the British to bring down the Smith regime through voluntary sanctions; and that the explosive situation was a threat to international peace, requiring firm mandatory action under chapter VII of the Charter. The Committee consensus concluded by requesting the Chairman to ask the President of the Security Council, through the Secretary-General, to bring the question of Southern Rhodesia before the Council.

Australia, Chile, Denmark, Italy, the United Kingdom, the United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela declined to associate themselves fully with the Chairman's statement.

Following the Security Council's April 9 consideration of Southern Rhodesia, the Committee of 24 adopted a resolution on April 21 which, among other things, noted that some states "actively encourage the racist minority regime of Southern Rhodesia by their refusal to implement the pertinent Security Council resolutions"; specified that the United Kingdom had "failed to take the necessary and adequate measures to bring down the regime of the racist minority in Southern Rhodesia"; condemned Portugal and South Africa for failing to implement past U.N. resolutions; and called upon the United Kingdom to "take all effective measures, including the use of force" to put an end to the Smith regime. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 19 to 0, with 5 abstentions (Australia, Denmark, Italy, U.K., U.S.). In explaining his abstention, the U.S. Representative, Richard E. Johnson, stated that the United States considered it too early to decide what further steps might be necessary in view of the Security Council's adoption of an important resolution on Southern Rhodesia on April 9.

Second Security Council Consideration, May 17–23

The Security Council met again from May 17 to 23 at the request of 32 African nations to consider further measures to be taken against the regime in Southern Rhodesia. In a letter to the President of the Council requesting the meeting, the African Representatives said that the "racist" regime was still holding out; that measures previously adopted by the Council were ineffective in bringing down that regime; and that the resolution of April 9 authorizing the use of force covered only one minor sector while substantial quantities of oil and petroleum products were entering Southern Rhodesia through other sectors.

Nigeria, Mali, and Uganda accordingly introduced a draft resolution on May 10 which, echoing the resolution adopted by the Committee of 24 on April 21, called upon all states, Portugal and South Africa in particular, to take all necessary measures to prevent the supply of oil and petroleum products to Southern Rhodesia; called upon the United Kingdom to take measures by the use of air, sea, or land forces to prevent any supplies, including oil and petroleum products, from reaching Southern Rhodesia; called upon the United Kingdom to hold consultations with the leaders of African political parties; drew the attention of the United Kingdom to the

harmful consequences which present negotiations with the Smith regime might entail; and called upon the United Kingdom "to take all necessary measures, including the use of force, to abolish the racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia. . . ."

During the debate the U.K. Representative said that the purpose of the informal talks in London with representatives of the Smith regime was merely to see whether there was a basis for proper negotiations. The United Kingdom wanted to explore every possibility of negotiation in order to avoid conflict. At great cost to itself the United Kingdom had prohibited all exports to Southern Rhodesia, denied that territory Commonwealth trading preferences, and banned all imports. Zambia had been given help in maintaining oil stocks. He affirmed that Southern Rhodesia remained a British responsibility and that the tactics and timing of further action were also a U.K. responsibility.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, made a formal statement on May 18, 1966, in which he reiterated U.S. support for the United Kingdom in its efforts to restore constitutional procedures in Southern Rhodesia. The U.S. Representative noted the U.K. statement that the talks taking place in London were not negotiations but were preliminary talks designed to determine the possibility of negotiations between the United Kingdom and the Smith regime. He suggested that the Council remain seized of the draft resolution and follow with close attention the progress of the talks to determine whether they showed any prospect of advance toward a solution of the Rhodesian matter.

The U.S. Representative also listed the reasons the U.S. Government had opposed and continued to oppose the unilateral declaration of independence of the Smith regime. These were: (1) the belief that the Rhodesian situation involved the moral issue of the right of all the people of Southern Rhodesia to participate in determining the nation's future; (2) the past and continued support by the United States of decolonization and genuine self-determination of peoples throughout the world; (3) the special obligations of the United States, as a founding member of the United Nations, to see the Charter provisions concerning human rights upheld; and (4) the recognition that success of a rebellion in Southern Rhodesia would harden the lines of political conflict in Africa.

In a second statement, on May 23, the U.S. Representative rebutted the accusation of the Soviet Representative that those powers who voted against or abstained on the draft resolution were voting against previous resolutions of the Security Council on Southern Rhodesia. He stated that the previous decisions of the Council remained in effect, in particular, the resolution of November 20, 1965, which, among other things, called upon all states to institute an arms and oil embargo against Southern Rhodesia, and called upon the United Kingdom to take all appropriate measures to end the minority regime in Southern Rhodesia. Ambassador Goldberg said that time was needed to explore the possibility of a peaceful solution based upon the preliminary talks then taking place in London.

On May 23 the African draft resolution was rejected by a vote of 6 to 1 (New Zealand), with 8 abstentions (Argentina, China, France, Japan, Netherlands, U.K., U.S., Uruguay).

Further Committee of 24 Consideration

In the course of its trip to Africa, in which the United Kingdom and Uruguay did not participate, the Committee of 24 again took up the question of Southern Rhodesia. On

May 31 the Committee passed a resolution which, among other things, deplored the failure of the United Kingdom to "bring down the racist minority regime" in Southern Rhodesia; expressed "total disapproval" of the negotiations between the United Kingdom and the Rhodesian regime; condemned Portugal and South Africa for their "continued support" of the Smith regime; recommended that the Security Council consider mandatory sanctions; and again called on Great Britain to take all necessary measures, including the use of force, in Southern Rhodesia. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 18 to 1 (Australia), with 3 abstentions (Denmark, Italy, U.S.).

In explanation of the U.S. position, Ambassador Eugenie Anderson said that the resolution did not differ from the one rejected by the Security Council on May 23, and that the United States, which had abstained on that occasion, would again abstain.

General Assembly Consideration

FIRST RESOLUTION

On October 11, 1966, during the opening debate on Southern Rhodesia in the Fourth Committee, the U.K. Representative called attention to the communique issued by the recent Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference on September 14. The U.K. position at the Conference was that after the illegal regime had been ended, a legal, broadly based government would be appointed by the Governor.

The British Government reiterated that it would negotiate with this interim regime only on the basis of six principles: (1) unimpeded progress to majority rule; (2) guarantees against retrogressive amendment of the constitution; (3) immediate improvement in the political status of the African population; (4) progress toward ending racial discrimination; (5) acceptance of the basis for independence by the people of Southern Rhodesia as a whole; (6) no oppression of the majority by the minority, or of the minority by the majority.

Disappointment at the U.K. statement was expressed by the representatives of a number of African and Asian countries. They felt that, instead of quoting from the communique of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, the U.K. Representative should have presented new facts about the situation in Southern Rhodesia and informed the Committee what action his government had taken since that Conference. Many of them insisted once more that the only solution to the question of Southern Rhodesia lay in the use of force. They contended that the British policy of economic sanctions had failed because of the trading operations of Portugal and South Africa with Southern Rhodesia.

On October 21 the Fourth Committee adopted a draft resolution, sponsored by 48 African and Asian countries, Albania, Cyprus, and Guyana, that noted "with grave concern" that "talks about talks" between the United Kingdom and the Smith regime "further jeopardize the inalienable rights of the African people of Zimbabwe" (Southern Rhodesia). The operative paragraphs condemned any arrangement by the administering Power "which will not recognize the inalienable rights of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence," and reaffirmed the "obligation of the administering Power to transfer power to the people of Zimbabwe on the basis of universal adult suffrage, in accordance with the principle, 'one man, one vote.' "

The vote on this resolution in the Fourth Committee was 77 to 2 (Portugal, South Africa), with 9 abstentions (Argentina, Austria, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Japan, Mexico,

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Norway, Sweden). The delegations of Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States did not participate in the voting.

The General Assembly adopted the resolution in plenary without change on October 22 by a vote of 86 to 2 (Portugal, South Africa), with 18 abstentions (U.K., U.S.). In explaining the U.S. abstention, the U.S. Representative said that the United States remained in agreement with the basic aims of self-determination and independence for Southern Rhodesia, but the resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee prejudged any arrangements which might be made by the United Kingdom, and also imputed motives and intentions to the administering Power which the United States did not believe existed.

SECOND RESOLUTION

The Fourth Committee continued its consideration of the Rhodesian question, adopting on November 10 another resolution, sponsored by 51 African and Asian countries, Cyprus, and Yugoslavia, by a vote of 94 to 2 (Portugal, South Africa), with 17 abstentions (U.K., U.S.). This resolution condemned Portugal and South Africa for support of the Rhodesian regime; called again upon the United Kingdom to take all measures, including the use of force, to end the regime; and condemned foreign financial interests which supported the regime and thereby prevented the African people of Zimbabwe from attaining freedom and independence. The resolution reiterated the Assembly's serious concern about British-Southern Rhodesian talks; regretted that Britain had failed to take effective measures to bring down the Rhodesian regime, and called on all states "to render all moral and material support to the people of Zimbabwe in their legitimate struggle to overthrow the illegal racist regime."

During the discussion of this resolution in the Fourth Committee, representatives of 22 nations voiced reservations about the use of force. In addition, a number of other representatives expressed the view that the Security Council, currently seized of the Rhodesian issue, was the only proper body to deal with it; that force should be used only when all other means had been exhausted; and that it was not advisable to condemn states, but only specific policies of states. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Anderson, in explaining the U.S. abstention on November 10, said that any steps prescribed by the Fourth Committee should be feasible and undertaken by appropriate organs of the United Nations; the present resolution did not meet these criteria.

On November 17 the General Assembly adopted without change the resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee. The vote on this occasion was 89 to 2, with 17 abstentions (U.S.).

Third Security Council Consideration, December 8–16

On December 5 the Rhodesian regime rejected a draft working paper prepared aboard H.M.S. *Tiger* by the British Prime Minister and Ian Smith which would have provided the basis for a constitutional settlement and a return to legality in Southern Rhodesia. In requesting a meeting of the Security Council on the same day, the U.K. Representative recalled that in May, and again after the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in September, his government had agreed to consider further measures with respect to Southern Rhodesia, provided a peaceful settlement could not be

reached. On December 8 he submitted a draft resolution calling for the imposition of selective mandatory economic sanctions against certain of Southern Rhodesia's major exports. The exportation of arms and military supplies to Southern Rhodesia would also be forbidden.

The British Foreign Secretary, George Brown, in opening the Security Council debate on December 8, said that the object of the sanctions program was to reduce Rhodesian economic activity to a point where even the most stubborn rebel could see that there would be no tolerable economic future for Southern Rhodesia. The best way to achieve this goal was to strike at the exports most important to it in international trade. This was the essence of the British proposals in the draft resolution. The voluntary measures of the past year had had some effect on the Rhodesian economy, but continuation of the rebellion made it necessary to use stronger measures under articles 39 and 41 of the Charter. Mr. Brown rejected the use of force, saying that it was "easy to start to use force, but often very difficult to see just where it will lead or how it will be possible to control or stop it."

The Zambian Foreign Minister, Mr. Kapwepwe, whose nation, along with Algeria, India, Pakistan, and Senegal, had been invited to participate without vote in the Security Council's consideration of this question, attacked the British proposals as mere "delaying tactics." He said that voluntary sanctions had failed, talks with Smith were illegal, and the plan prepared aboard H.M.S. *Tiger* and offered to the Smith regime was a "sellout" of the African majority in Southern Rhodesia. Terming British policy in southern Africa "one of abominable dishonesty," Mr. Kapwepwe called for comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions, especially on oil and oil products, and said that the only sure way to end the rebellion was to use force. He concluded by saying, "Today we are speaking of oil and pig iron. But if this problem is not solved . . . we shall speak tomorrow of how many whites and how many Africans have been killed."

In reply, Mr. Brown rejected the "attribution of false motives, hypocrisy and racism" to British policy as being both unworthy and untrue. He asked for a constructive debate on the draft resolution, stating that abuse was no substitute for helpful criticism.

Ambassador Goldberg, in outlining U.S. policy, said that his government would have preferred a negotiated settlement. Since the last offer by the U.K. Government had been rejected, the United Kingdom had now come to the Security Council to ask for selective mandatory sanctions. This was a serious step; if taken, it would be a precedent-breaking and far-reaching action. The situation in Southern Rhodesia was basically an effort by a small minority to suppress the political rights of a majority and to extend into the territory practices of racial discrimination which had been found abhorrent by the United Nations. The danger to peace was obviously growing, and the Council had to address itself to this threat. In these circumstances, the United States was prepared to apply the full force of its law to implementing action pursuant to article 41, should the Council so decide.

The African members of the Security Council (Mali, Nigeria, Uganda) subsequently submitted amendments to the U.K. draft resolution to include oil and oil products among the sanctioned Rhodesian imports, and coal and all manufactured goods in the list of sanctioned Rhodesian exports. They also submitted a new preambular paragraph which noted with "deep regret that the administering Power has failed to take effective measures to bring

down" the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia. Other African amendments deplored support of Southern Rhodesia by Portugal and South Africa and called on the United Kingdom to make "a categorical declaration that it will not grant independence to Southern Rhodesia until majority rule, and that all offers previously made by the United Kingdom" were withdrawn.

After a week of debate and consultation among its members, the Council adopted a resolution on December 16 in which it determined that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constituted a threat to the peace and decided to impose against that territory selective mandatory economic sanctions under chapter VII, article 41 of the Charter, the effect of which was to embargo trade in 12 of Southern Rhodesia's principal exports. The resolution also placed an embargo on the supply to Southern Rhodesia of arms, military equipment, aircraft, motor vehicles, petroleum, and petroleum products.

As finally adopted, the resolution contained the following important additions to the original British draft: (1) an embargo on the supply of oil and oil products to Southern Rhodesia; (2) a request to the Secretary-General to report on the implementation of the resolution, the first report to be submitted no later than March 1, 1967; (3) a decision to keep Southern Rhodesia on the Council's agenda for further action as appropriate; (4) a reaffirmation of the rights of the people of Southern Rhodesia to freedom and independence; and (5) a reminder to member states that failure or refusal to implement the resolution would constitute a violation of article 25 of the U.N. Charter. After a paragraph by paragraph vote on the amendments, the U.K. draft resolution, as amended, was adopted by a vote of 11 (U.S.) to 0, with 4 abstentions (Bulgaria, France, Mali, U.S.S.R.). It marked the first time in U.N. history that the Security Council had acted under article 41 of the Charter.

South-West Africa

Committee of 24 Consideration

The question of the Mandated Territory of South-West Africa was considered by the Committee of 24 at meetings at U.N. Headquarters in March, August, and September 1966; at meetings held in Africa between May 23 and June 22, 1966; and by a special subcommittee on South-West Africa that it established in June 1966. In addition, the Committee decided to accept an invitation to send observers to a privately sponsored international conference on South-West Africa held at Oxford, England, March 23–26.

IN AFRICA

On June 7 at Addis Ababa, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Anderson, affirmed that the United States shared the general concern and frustration that so little progress had been made toward a solution of the problem, but at the same time hoped for positive results from the decision on South-West Africa which the International Court of Justice was expected to deliver shortly. She urged the Committee to refrain from taking action or making recommendations relating specifically to the questions before the Court until a judgment was given. The United States believed that South Africa was obligated to comply with the Mandate and condemned South Africa's extension of the policy of *apartheid* to the territory. She further emphasized that the United States had scrupulously enforced the Security Council's 1963 embargo on the sale to South Africa of arms, ammunition, military equipment, and materials and equipment for their maintenance and manufacture.

On June 7 the Ethiopian Representative introduced a draft resolution on behalf of 12 Afro-Asian states and Yugoslavia. As revised on June 8 by the Tanzanian Representative, the operative paragraphs, among other things, condemned as a crime against humanity the policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination practiced by the Government of South Africa in South-West Africa; condemned the activities of financial interests operating in South-West Africa which "exploit the human and material resources and impede the progress of the Territory and the right of the people to freedom and independence"; condemned South Africa's policy of suppressing and circumventing the political and economic rights of the indigenous people of the territory through large-scale settlement of foreign immigrants; drew the attention of the Security Council to the "serious situation prevailing in South West Africa and its aggravation caused by the racist rebellion in Southern Rhodesia and its consequences for international peace and security"; recommended that the Security Council make it obligatory for all states to implement the arms embargo and other political and economic measures called for by the General Assembly in 1963; recommended that the Security Council take the necessary measures to insure the withdrawal of all military bases and installations from the territory; appealed to all states to give moral and material support to the African population of South-West Africa in their struggle for freedom and independ-

ence; and decided to establish a subcommittee to make a thorough study of the situation regarding South-West Africa and, among other matters, to recommend an early date for independence.

Ambassador Anderson stated that the United States had reservations about a number of the resolution's provisions. The United States supported the call for an embargo on the shipment of arms and military equipment to South Africa but could not support the provision of the resolution calling for both an arms embargo and the application of economic sanctions. The United States would have preferred a specific indictment of labor conditions and policies associated with certain foreign companies in South-West Africa instead of a blanket indictment of all financial interests. Finally, the question of military bases and installations in South-West Africa was before the International Court of Justice and, therefore, inappropriate to the present resolution.

On June 9 three paragraph votes were taken before the resolution was adopted as a whole. The paragraph condemning financial interests in South-West Africa was adopted by a vote of 18 to 0, with 3 abstentions (Denmark, Italy, U.S.); the paragraph recommending political and economic measures against South Africa in addition to the arms embargo was adopted by a vote of 16 to 1 (U.S.), with 4 abstentions (Chile, Denmark, Italy, Venezuela); and the paragraph relating to military bases and installations in the territory was adopted by a vote of 16 to 0, with 5 abstentions (Chile, Denmark, Italy, U.S., Venezuela). The resolution as a whole was then adopted by a vote of 18 to 0, with 3 abstentions (Denmark, Italy, U.S.). Australia did not participate. Denmark, Ethiopia, India, Ivory Coast, Poland, Tunisia, and Venezuela were subsequently appointed to the subcommittee established by the resolution.

IN NEW YORK

At a meeting on August 5, the Chairman of the Committee of 24 and the Representatives of Tanzania and Mali attacked the judgment delivered on June 18 by the International Court of Justice (see page 243). The outcome of the proceedings, the Chairman said, was a bitter disappointment to the African states and other U.N. members. Some states, he went on, had for 6 years cautioned against any positive action by the General Assembly or the Committee of 24 on the ground that such action might prejudice the case before the Court. The long-awaited judgment had not, however, been an exercise in futility, for it was now clear beyond any doubt that there was no further excuse for waiting. The time had come for action by the United Nations.

On September 15 the Committee of 24 adopted the report of its Subcommittee on South-West Africa by consensus, it being understood that reservations expressed by some members would be included in the record. The Subcommittee report expressed grave concern about the situation in South-West Africa following the Court decision of July 18 and stated its conviction that urgent and effective steps were necessary to prevent a serious threat to or breach of peace in southern Africa. Regretting the Court's decision to dismiss the case brought by Liberia and Ethiopia without adjudicating the substance, it pointed out that the July 18 judgment did not invalidate the Court's earlier advisory opinions which left no room for doubt regarding South Africa's obligations and the supervisory powers of the United Nations. The Subcommittee unanimously expressed the view that the problem of South-West Africa was a political and colonial issue whose solution must be sought in terms of fundamental human rights and the principles of the Charter, particularly those contained

in article 73 and the Colonialism Declaration of 1960.

Affirming that the people of the territory should have the opportunity to exercise their right of self-determination as soon as possible, the Subcommittee recommended, among other things, that the United Nations assume the Mandate itself and administer the territory, terminating the rights and responsibilities of South Africa as mandatory power; that arrangements be made to hold elections on the principle of universal adult suffrage so that the people could freely choose their form of government; and that the territory should become independent following elections and the formation of a government. In the event that South Africa resisted implementation of these actions, the Subcommittee said that the Security Council should take enforcement measures against South Africa as provided under chapter VII of the U.N. Charter.

General Assembly Consideration

On August 11, 35 African states requested that the question of South-West Africa, which was already on the Assembly's provisional agenda, be considered as a matter of priority. Subsequently the General Assembly acceded to the request and decided to discuss South-West Africa in plenary concurrently with the general debate.

On September 22 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, stated that the time was past when either peace or material progress could be founded on the domination of one people or race or group by another. The United States, he said, held strong views on these problems and was not and never could be content with a minority government in Southern Rhodesia or with a situation such as that in South-West Africa where "one race holds another in intolerable subjection under the false name of *apartheid*."

He affirmed that the refusal of the International Court to touch the merits of the question of South-West Africa was most disappointing. However, the application of law to the question did not hang on the Court's July 18 decision alone. In the U.S. view, South Africa's conduct remained subject to obligations reaffirmed by earlier advisory opinions of the Court. Those opinions had held that South Africa could not alter the international status of the territory without the consent of the United Nations, and that South Africa remained bound to accept U.N. supervision, to submit annual reports to the General Assembly, and "to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants."

Ambassador Goldberg emphasized:

> This is no time for South Africa to take refuge in a technical finding of the International Court, which did not deal with the substantive merits of the case. The time is overdue—the time is long overdue—for South Africa to accept its obligations to the international community in regard to South-West Africa. Continued violation by South Africa of its plain obligations to the international community would necessarily require all nations, including my own, to take such an attitude into account in their relationships with South Africa.

When the General Assembly began its discussion of South-West Africa on September 23, it had before it the report of the Committee of 24 and a report by the Secretary-General on replies by member states regarding compliance with the November 13, 1963, resolution of the General Assembly. In addition, the Fourth Committee heard several petitioners.

The debate was marked by a number of statements critical of the International Court's July 18 decision, and by repeated demands for the General Assembly to terminate South

Africa's Mandate over South-West Africa. A number of countries suggested that a commission ought to be appointed to make recommendations on the precise nature of the action to be taken by the General Assembly.

The South African Representative characterized the debate as carrying an "artificial sense of urgency." In the South African view, the proposed action was based on misconceptions and willful misrepresentation of South Africa's policies. South Africa, its Foreign Minister informed the Assembly on October 12, would resist with all the forces at its command attempts from outside to impose a dangerous and unwanted system in the territory.

AFRO-ASIAN DRAFT RESOLUTION

On September 27 the Ghanaian Representative introduced a resolution eventually sponsored by 54 Afro-Asian states. In lengthy preambular paragraphs the resolution reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of South-West Africa to freedom and independence in accordance with the Colonialism Declaration of December 14, 1960; recalled the advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice of July 11, 1950, June 7, 1955, June 1, 1956, and the judgment of December 21, 1962, which established the fact that "South Africa continues to have obligations under the Mandate" and that "the United Nations as the successor to the League of Nations has supervisory powers in respect of South West Africa"; and expressed grave concern over the situation in South-West Africa which had "seriously deteriorated" following the July 18 judgment of the Court.

In its operative paragraphs the draft resolution (1) reaffirmed that the provisions of the Colonialism Declaration were fully applicable to the people of South-West Africa and that, therefore, the people there had the inalienable right to self-determination, freedom, and independence in accordance with the U.N. Charter; (2) reaffirmed that South-West Africa is a territory having international status and that it would remain so until it had achieved independence; (3) declared that South Africa had failed to fulfill its obligations with respect to the administration of South-West Africa and to insure the moral and material well-being and security of the inhabitants; (4) decided to "take over the Mandate conferred upon His Britannic Majesty to be exercised on his behalf by the Government of the Union of South Africa and to assume direct responsibility for the administration of the Mandated Territory"; (5) established a U.N. Administering Authority for South-West Africa composed of member states to be immediately designated by the President of the Assembly to administer the Territory on behalf of the United Nations with a view to preparing it for independence; (6) requested the proposed Administering Authority to proceed immediately with its work in the Territory and to recommend to the General Assembly as soon as possible, but not later than the 22d session of the General Assembly, a date for the independence of the Territory; (7) requested the Security Council to take the "necessary effective measures" to enable the proposed Administering Authority to discharge its functions in accordance with the resolution; (8) urged all states to extend their wholehearted cooperation and to render assistance in the implementation of the resolution; and, finally, (9) requested the Secretary-General to provide all necessary administrative, financial, and other assistance for the implementation of the resolution and to enable the U.N. Administering Authority for South-West Africa to perform its duties.

U.S. POSITION

On October 12 the U.S. Representative commented that the debate might prove to be one of the truly decisive ones in U.N. history, if, as the United States hoped, it resulted in effective action. He stated that the United States was encouraged to find that almost all the members were in agreement on the status of South-West Africa. This near unanimity found strong support in the legal framework clearly defined by the three advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice which remained an authoritative statement of the law in the matter. Ambassador Goldberg went on to describe the essential elements of the broad agreement which the United States believed existed:

First, the people of South-West Africa, like all peoples, have the right to determine their own future.

Second, South-West Africa is a territory having an international status, and will remain so until its people exercise this right of self-determination.

Third, South Africa's right to administer the territory arose solely from the Mandate.

Fourth, as the mandatory power, South Africa incurred certain obligations toward the people of the territory including the promotion of their material and moral well-being and their social progress. It has not fulfilled these obligations. Indeed, it has even gone so far as to impose on the territory the abhorrent system of racial segregation known as *apartheid.*

Fifth, as the mandatory power, South Africa incurred certain obligations to the international community, for which the General Assembly has supervisory responsibilities. Among these are obligations to report annually on its administration of the territory and to transmit petitions from the inhabitants. South Africa has repeatedly refused to carry out these obligations. We are thus confronted with a continuing material breach of obligations incumbent upon the mandatory power.

Sixth, South Africa itself has disavowed the Mandate, asserting that it ceased to exist upon the dissolution of the League of Nations.

Seventh, by virtue of the breach of its obligations and its disavowal of the Mandate, South Africa forfeits all right to continue to administer the territory of South-West Africa. Indeed, it is because of South Africa's own actions that it can no longer assert its right under the Mandate, and apart from the Mandate, South Africa has no right to administer the territory.

Eighth, in these circumstances the United Nations must be prepared to discharge its responsibilities with respect to South-West Africa.

In light of such agreement on the nature of the problem and on the objective, it was highly important, the U.S. Representative declared, that near unanimity on fundamentals be made manifest. This was all the more true when it came to deciding on the best means of implementing the common aim. What was needed was world cooperation manifested by concrete action rather than world opinion voiced by words in a resolution. The United States, he said, was prepared to work with all delegations committed to the achievement of the common goal.

The United States believed, he continued, that the General Assembly should begin by expressing explicitly its decision with respect to the status of South-West Africa in a form acceptable to virtually all members. The Assembly should then create a "practical instrumentality" to give effect to this decision. Referring to the suggested establishment of a U.N. commission for South-West Africa, the U.S. Representative indicated U.S. willingness to serve on an appropriately representative body if the Assembly so desired. Such a commission should have very explicit terms of reference; should be asked to recommend means by which, in accordance with a prescribed timetable, an administration for South-West Africa could be set up which would enable the people of the Territory to exercise their right of self-determination; and should report at a specific and early date consistent with both the urgency of the matter and the need for the effective discharge of its important responsibility. All members should be asked to cooperate in the commission's

work, and the principal U.N. organs should be asked to take appropriate action on its report.

The U.S. Representative emphasized that this was an "action proposal," contemplating ". . . steps which can be immediately and practically implemented, and which lie within the capacity of this Organization. It is designed to provide the community of nations promptly with a considered blueprint for united and peaceful action for the benefit of the people of South-West Africa."

THE LATIN AMERICAN AMENDMENTS

On October 26, following extensive consultations, the Mexican Representative introduced on behalf of 21 Latin American states a series of amendments to seven of the operative paragraphs of the 54-power draft resolution. Under these amendments the General Assembly would, among other things, also declare in paragraph 3 that South Africa had in fact disavowed the Mandate. Paragraphs 4 to 7 were changed so that the Assembly (4) decided that "the Mandate conferred upon His Britannic Majesty to be exercised on his behalf by the Government of the Union of South Africa is therefore terminated and that South Africa has no other right to administer the Territory, and that henceforth South West Africa comes under the direct responsibility of the United Nations;" (5) resolved that "in these circumstances the United Nations must discharge those responsibilities with respect to South West Africa;" (6) established an *Ad Hoc* Committee for South West Africa composed of 14 member states to be designated by the President of the General Assembly "to recommend practical means by which South West Africa should be administered, so as to enable the people of the Territory to exercise the right of self-determination and to achieve independence, and to report to the General Assembly at a special session as soon as possible and in any event not later than April 1967;" (7) called upon the Government of South Africa forthwith "to refrain and desist from any action, constitutional, administrative, political or otherwise which will in any manner whatsoever alter or tend to alter the present international status of South West Africa;" and (8) called the attention of the Security Council to the resolution.

On the same day, the Guinean Representative informed the Assembly on behalf of the Afro-Asian states which sponsored the 54-power draft resolution that they would support the Latin American amendments since they were very close to the ideas expressed in the original resolution.

Noting that the Latin American amendments had led the Assembly closer to the desired unanimity but that a narrow gap remained, the U.S. Representative on October 27 introduced a subamendment to the Latin American amendments by which the General Assembly would decide in operative paragraph 4 that "South Africa's Mandate over South West Africa has therefore terminated and that South Africa has no other right to administer the territory, and that in these circumstances the United Nations has a direct responsibility to preserve the international status of the Territory of South West Africa under conditions which will enable South West Africa to exercise its rights of self-determination and independence."

In the U.S. view, it was not the desire of the Assembly to state its action in a way which could be interpreted as changing the concept of international responsibility in respect to South-West Africa. Ambassador Goldberg distinguished between the Mandate as the international responsibilities created by the Mandate Agreement and the powers given to South Africa to administer the territory. The obligations imposed and the rights created by the Mandate

Agreement remain until the people of South-West Africa exercise their right of self-determination; it was only South Africa's right to administer the territory which had come to an end.

On October 27 the Assembly rejected the U.S. subamendment by a vote of 18 (Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Kenya, Liberia, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Uganda, U.K., U.S.) to 52, with 49 abstentions.

The paragraph of the Latin American amendments which declared that South Africa had failed to fulfill its obligations in respect of the administration of the territory and had disavowed the mandate, was adopted by a vote of 90 (U.S.) to 2 (Portugal and South Africa), with 27 abstentions. The remaining Latin American amendments were adopted by a vote of 85 (U.S.) to 2 (Portugal and South Africa), with 32 abstentions. The General Assembly then adopted the 54-power draft resolution as amended by a vote of 114 (U.S.) to 2 (Portugal and South Africa), with 3 abstentions (France, Malawi, U.K.).

In explaining the U.S. vote the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Nabrit, stated that the United States would have preferred a wider consensus in wording and expression to assure even broader unanimity, particularly among all the permanent members of the Security Council. The United States supported the resolution in its amended form in the belief that the text did not in fact depart from the essential objectives outlined in Ambassador Goldberg's statement on October 12. Expressing the hope that realistic and constructive implementation of the resolution would contribute to a solution of the South-West Africa question, Ambassador Nabrit stated:

> Our interpretation of this resolution and the basis on which we have supported it is that it is South Africa's rights that have come to an end, not the concept of international responsibility itself and that this consequence has derived both from South Africa's failure to fulfill its obligations and from its disavowal of the Mandate. The rights of the inhabitants as well as the rights and responsibilities of the United Nations as confirmed by the various advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice continue.

Noting that the manner in which the United Nations would discharge its responsibilities would be decided in the light of the new *Ad Hoc* Committee's recommendations, the U.S. Representative expressed the hope that the *Ad Hoc* Committee would undertake its work seriously and realistically.

> . . . It must, of course, be free to consider all means compatible with the Charter and this resolution, and we would expect it to undertake appropriate consultation with all governments legitimately concerned with this grave matter.

In voting for this resolution, he continued, the United States had undertaken no commitment as to action which the United States would consider appropriate in the Security Council should the Council later be seized with the question, since the United States did not wish to prejudice the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee and since it would, of necessity, depend upon the situation prevailing at that time.

PROPOSALS BY SAUDI ARABIA

Following the adoption of the amended 54-power draft resolution, the Saudi Arabian Representative decided to hold in suspension, pending the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, a draft resolution which he had submitted on October 18 proposing an interim system for administering the territory.

The Assembly defeated by a vote of 17 to 22 (U.S.), with 58 abstentions, a second Saudi Arabian draft resolution introduced on October 24. That resolution would have reaffirmed that South Africa "by flagrantly flouting the sacred trust placed in it" had forfeited its right to administer South-

West Africa and should forthwith be considered a usurper. In its only operative paragraph the draft resolution would have had the Assembly declare that South Africa is "a racist colonial Power."

MEMBERSHIP ON THE AD HOC COMMITTEE

On November 21 the President of the General Assembly announced the appointment to the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Finland, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, United Arab Republic, U.S.S.R., and the United States.

In a statement the same day Ambassador Goldberg accepted U.S. membership on the *Ad Hoc* Committee and expressed regret that France and the United Kingdom had not found it possible to participate.

DRAFT RESOLUTION OF DECEMBER 17

On December 17, following reports that the South African Government was taking steps to relocate some of the inhabitants of South-West Africa, the representatives of Cameroon, Ceylon, Congo (Kinshasa), Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Mali, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Syria, United Arab Republic, and Yemen introduced a draft resolution, later revised, which denounced "the illegal acts" committed by the South African Government in South-West Africa as a blatant violation of the authority assumed by the United Nations under its October 27 resolution, and drew the urgent attention of the Security Council to the grave situation resulting from these "illegal acts." The sponsors did not, however, press the resolution to a vote.

Scholarship Programs

Trust Territories

The U.N. Secretary-General submits an annual report to the Trusteeship Council on the special U.N. scholarship program for students from Trust Territories which was established by the General Assembly in 1952. In his report covering the period May 20, 1965, to May 20, 1966, the Secretary-General stated that no applications for the scholarships offered by 11 member states had been received during the year from any of the three remaining Trust Territories.

At the 33d session of the Trusteeship Council, the Soviet Representative charged that the Administering Authorities had been preventing inhabitants of the Trust Territories from studying abroad, and the Liberian Representative called upon Australia in particular to allow the people of the Trust Territory of New Guinea to study wherever training facilities had been offered.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Anderson, rejected the Soviet allegations and stated that Micronesian students were not pressured by the Administering Authority regarding their choice of scholarships. The U.S. Government has welcomed and publicized widely all offers made to Micronesian students and specialists to study abroad. She stated her belief that the language barrier deterred Micronesians from considering offers from non-English-speaking countries.

The Australian Representative stated that 42 New Guineans had studied abroad in recent years. Moreover, he added, Australia believed it was itself able to provide sufficient educational opportunities for the people of the Trust Territories of New Guinea and Nauru.

Non-Self-Governing Territories

Since 1954 the General Assembly has regularly invited member states to extend scholarships and training facilities to the people of non-self-governing territories. The Secretary-General has submitted annual reports to the General Assembly on the number of scholarships offered and awarded each year.

On September 24, 1966, the General Assembly placed the report of the Secretary-General on scholarships for inhabitants of non-self-governing territories on its agenda and allocated it to the Fourth Committee for consideration. The Secretary-General, on December 6, transmitted information received from 14 countries on scholarships offered and/or awarded during 1966. Since the beginning of the program 26 countries, including the United States, have made scholarships available to the people of non-self-governing territories.

On December 16 the Fourth Committee adopted without objection a draft resolution sponsored by the United States and 19 other members which noted the report of the Secretary-General and urged members to continue to offer scholarships, including provision for travel costs. This draft resolution was adopted without objection by the General Assembly on December 20.

South-West Africa and Portuguese Territories

The General Assembly established a special training program for South-

West Africa in 1961 and a similar program in 1962 for the indigenous inhabitants of the territories under Portuguese administration.

In his annual report on the South-West Africa training program, dated October 13, the Secretary-General noted that as of September 1966 there were eight students on scholarships financed from the U.N. budget, and that 16 countries had reported scholarship offers and/or awards during the year. In a note dated July 5, the United States had informed the Secretary-General that, in addition to continuing all but one of the 35 scholarships awarded previously, the U.S. Government had offered 10 additional scholarships for the academic year 1965–66. Eight of these scholarships had been filled, and the students were currently studying in the United States at the university level. These scholarships could be renewed until the students obtained the first university degree.

In his report on the training program for indigenous inhabitants in the territories under Portuguese administration, also dated October 13, the Secretary-General noted that 122 students were on scholarships financed from the U.N. budget, and that 16 countries had reported scholarships offered and/or awarded during the year. The United States had informed the Secretary-General on July 12 that 29 African students from Portuguese territories had begun their studies in the United States during academic year 1965–66. Their scholarships were intended to support them until they received their first university degree. The United States further indicated that it planned to make available 30 more scholarships for the academic year 1966–67.

The separate reports of the Secretary-General on these two scholarship programs were included on the agenda of the 21st General Assembly, and on September 24 they were allocated to the Fourth Committee for consideration. The Committee considered them at three meetings in December.

Nineteen African and Asian states sponsored separate resolutions on the two programs. Both resolutions expressed appreciation to member states that had made scholarship and travel grants available; invited the states to consider including in their offers scholarships for secondary education and for vocational and technical training; and requested member states to facilitate the travel of students from South-West Africa and the territories under Portuguese administration who were seeking to take advantage of the educational opportunities offered. Portugal was again requested to cooperate in the implementation of the program for inhabitants of the territories under its administration.

Both draft resolutions were adopted by the committee on December 16, the one concerning South-West Africa by a vote of 74 (U.S.) to 2, with 1 abstention, and the one on Portuguese territories by a vote of 73 (U.S.) to 2, with 1 abstention.

Proposed Consolidation of Programs

On the same day the United States and 26 other members sponsored a draft resolution requesting the Secretary-General to study, in consultation with the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, the Director General of UNESCO, the heads of other appropriate agencies and organs, and the Administrative Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity, the question of the consolidation and integration of these two special education and training programs with the U.N. educational and training program for South Africans (established by a Security Council resolution of June 18, 1964), and to report

the results of this study to the 22d General Assembly. The draft resolution also authorized the Secretary-General to establish, if he deemed it desirable, a committee selected from among host countries of refugees and from among states that had made contributions to the three U.N. education and training programs for southern Africans to advise him on means to develop and expand these programs. This draft resolution was adopted in committee by a vote of 73 (U.S.) to 2, with 1 abstention.

The Portuguese Representative stated that he had voted against the three draft resolutions because they were politically, rather than educationally, motivated.

The South African Representative stated that these education and training programs could only be interpreted as a continuation of the political campaign against his country and added that the resolution calling for a study of the three education and training programs for southern Africans was unacceptable to his government since it contained mention of the program for education and training for South Africans which was not on the agenda of the Fourth Committee.

On December 20 all three draft resolutions were adopted in plenary: the one requesting a study of the possible consolidation of the three programs and the one on South-West Africa by votes of 112 (U.S.) to 2, with 1 abstention; the one on Portuguese Territories by a vote of 112 (U.S.) to 2, with 2 abstentions.

Legal and Constitutional Developments

Part Four

LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS are relevant to a significant part of the work of the United Nations. These questions are discussed in other parts of this report in connection with the underlying issues to which they relate. However, because of their essentially legal character, Part Four deals separately with the activities of the International Court of Justice, the International Law Commission, the General Assembly's Sixth (Legal) Committee, and the subsidiary organs constituted by it.

International Court of Justice

During 1966 Gambia, Malawi, and Malta accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, and France deposited a new declaration to replace its declaration of July 10, 1959.

The Court delivered one judgment—in the South-West Africa Cases—and issued an order in the Case Concerning the Barcelona Traction, Light and Power Co., Ltd., extending the time limit for the filing of papers by the parties to the dispute. At the end of the year the latter case was the only one remaining on the Court's docket.

South-West Africa Cases (Ethiopia v. South Africa; Liberia v. South Africa)

On November 4, 1960, Ethiopia and Liberia instituted separate proceedings, subsequently joined by the Court, against the then Union of South Africa. These proceedings concerned South Africa's administration of the mandated territory of South-West Africa and alleged noncompliance with its international legal obligations under the 1920 Mandate for South-West Africa, the Covenant of the League of Nations, and the U.N. Charter.

In 1961 South Africa filed preliminary objections to the jurisdiction of the Court, and the proceedings on the merits were suspended. On December 21, 1962, the Court rejected South Africa's preliminary objections and upheld its jurisdiction by an 8–7 majority.

The Court heard the final oral arguments of the parties on November 15, 1965. By an order of November 29, 1965, the Court decided not to accede to South Africa's request that the Court make an on-the-spot inspection of, and compare conditions

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in, South-West Africa (by a vote of 8–6), the Republic of South Africa (8–6), Ethiopia and Liberia (9–5), and one or two sub-Saharan African countries of the Court's own choosing (9–5).

On July 18, 1966, the Court decided by an 8–7 vote that the applicants had no legal right or interest in South Africa's conduct of its Mandate over South-West Africa which would allow them to maintain their suit against South Africa.

In concluding that the applicants lacked any such right or interest, the Court distinguished between provisions of the Mandate concerning South Africa's "conduct" of the Mandate and provisions safeguarding "special interests" of League of Nations members. The Court considered that only the latter provisions gave rise to rights or interests on which such members could maintain an action against South Africa under the Mandate. The former provisions gave only the League of Nations itself a right to question South Africa's conduct of the Mandate. The applicants' submissions, in the Court's view, concerned the "conduct," not the "special interests" provisions, and the applicants therefore lacked the requisite legal right or interest in the subject matter of their claims. The Court denied that this finding was inconsistent with its 1962 judgment on jurisdiction, stating that a decision that the applicants could invoke the jurisdictional clause of the Mandate was not the same as saying that the applicants had a legal basis for asserting a claim on the merits.

In support of these conclusions, the Court said that a review of the terms of the Mandate and of the Covenant of the League showed that South Africa was to be accountable for its conduct of the Mandate only to the appropriate organs of the League, not to the members of the League individually. Article 22 of the Covenant, for example, provided that the "well-being and development" of the peoples of the mandated territories should form "a sacred trust of civilization." However, it was decided by the framers of the postwar settlement that the best method to give effect to this principle was to entrust the tutelage of such people to advanced nations "on behalf of the League," not on behalf of the members of the League in their individual capacities. Thus, individual states could participate in reviewing annual reports and in the administrative process of supervision only through their participation in the activities of the League organs.

Under the mandates system, the only right member states had individually to call a mandatory to account was when a mandatory violated their "special interests." Prevalent in "A" and "B" mandates were articles conferring on member states in their individual capacities rights similar to provisions in treaties of commerce between states. In the South-West Africa Mandate, a "C" mandate, these "special interests" were limited to provisions for freedom of missionary activity.

If individual League members could have held mandatories accountable in a judicial proceeding, the Court continued, the authority of the Council of the League would have been undermined and the mandatory would have been deprived of its power under the League Covenant to frustrate a formal Council decision on a question of substance relative to its mandate by casting a negative vote.

The Court then turned to a refutation of contrary arguments. It dismissed arguments that individual member states might have a right to activate Court consideration of South Africa's conduct of the Mandate as a "last resort" to uphold the "sacred trust" principle. The sacred trust principle did not of itself create legal obligations. To do so, it would have had to be given judicial expression or clothed in legal form. Moreover, if on a correct legal reading of a given situation, certain alleged rights were

found to be nonexistent, the consequences of this must be accepted. The Court stated that it could not go beyond its judicial functions and legislate such rights.

A considerable amount of the opinion was devoted to a refutation of the contention that if the applicants were entitled to invoke the jurisdiction clause of the Mandate they must have a sufficient legal interest in the subject matter of the claims. The Court asserted that the parties might be of the type specified in the compromissory clause, the dispute might have the specific character required, the forum might be appropriate, yet the parties might not have a legal right or interest relative to the merits of the claim which would justify a judicial decision on that claim.

In the Court's view, the history of the mandates system shows that jurisdictional clauses in mandates were related only to provisions concerning commercial and other "special interests" for member states. The drafters' discussion of these clauses had centered on the commercial aspects of the mandates and the possibility of disputes arising from these aspects. They had not envisaged that members would sue to enforce obligations relating to the general conduct of the administration of a mandate.

Lastly, the Court rejected the view that each League member could assert a legal right, as a last resort, to take direct action to protect a specific mandate. If the framers of the mandates system had intended such a safeguard, they would not have provided that mandatories be members of the Council for mandate purposes; or they would have given members of the Council rights individually to hold a mandatory to account. But it was never the intention of the Council that it be able to impose its views. The Court stated that it was not unusual to have obligations in the international field that cannot in the last resort be enforced by legal process. That was the rule, not the exception.

Sir Percy Spender (Australia), President of the Court, appended a declaration to the Court's judgment. Judge G. Morelli (Italy) and *Ad Hoc* Judge J. T. van Wyk (South Africa) appended separate opinions. Judges Philip Jessup (United States), K. Tanaka (Japan), Luis Padilla Nervo (Mexico), Isaac Forster (Senegal), *Ad Hoc* Judge Sir Louis Mbanefo (Nigeria), and Vice President Wellington Koo (China) appended dissenting opinions.

Judge Jessup's dissent asserted that the judgment of the Court was completely unfounded in law. In his view it misconceived the nature of the peace settlements concluded at the end of World War I, the nature and functioning of the League of Nations, and the nature and functioning of the mandates system. Judge Jessup considered that the 1962 judgment of the Court upholding its jurisdiction had considered the factors upon which the Court based the contrary 1966 judgment. The 1962 rulings were binding and should have been considered determinative with respect to the current action.

The historical background of the drafting of the mandates, Judge Jessup pointed out, and the language of the South-West Africa Mandate compelled the conclusion that the primary purpose of the mandates system was the protection of the native inhabitants of the mandated territories. A fundamental means of protection was the provision permitting other League members to sue in the Permanent Court of International Justice to require adherence to the terms of the mandate. Accordingly, Judge Jessup concluded, the legal interest of the applicants in the proper administration of the Mandate was properly invoked by the applications and the Court should have given judgment on the merits of the case.

On July 27, 1966, the United States issued a statement on the case which emphasized that the only question the Court had decided was that Ethiopia and Liberia had no legal right or interest in the subject matter of their

claims. It did not decide those claims. That is to say, it did not decide, as requested by the applicants, whether the Mandate is in effect, whether South Africa should accept U.N. supervision of its administration of the Mandate, and whether, in applying *apartheid* in South-West Africa, South Africa violated its obligation to "promote to the utmost the material and social well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants." All the Court held was that Ethiopia and Liberia did not have sufficient standing to be entitled to a determination of these issues.

The U.S. statement also pointed out that the principles governing the Mandate were the subject of Advisory Opinions of the International Court of Justice in 1950, 1955, and 1956, which the Court issued at the request of the U.N. General Assembly. These Advisory Opinions established that the Mandate continues in effect and that South Africa cannot alter the status of the Territory without the consent of the United Nations, that South Africa continues to be bound under the Mandate to accept U.N. supervision, to submit annual reports, and to forward petitions to the U.N. General Assembly as well as "to promote to the utmost the material and social well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants." The judgment of July 18th did not diminish the legal authority of these Advisory Opinions.

International Law Commission

The International Law Commission, which promotes the progressive development and codification of international law, is composed of 25 experts who serve in their individual capacities. During 1966 Herbert W. Briggs of the United States was a member; at the 21st General Assembly Richard D. Kearney was elected to succeed him.

The Commission held the second part of its 17th session in Monaco from January 3 to 28, 1966. The meeting was concerned mainly with the draft articles on the law of treaties. In the light of comments by governments, the Commission reexamined draft articles 30 to 50, adopting revised texts for 19 of them, subject to review at the 18th session, when the Commission hoped to complete its work on all of the draft articles.

The Commission decided to establish, under article 26 of its Statute, a cooperative relationship with the European Committee on Legal Cooperation, a special body set up by the Council of Europe in 1963 to promote cooperation among its member states in the legal field. In addition, the Commission received information about the legal work of the Organization of American States from a representative of the Inter-American Juridical Committee, the standing organ of the Inter-American Council of Jurists.

The Commission also discussed plans for holding a second seminar in international law during 1966, with the participation in particular of nationals of the developing countries. The first seminar was held in Geneva in 1965.

The Commission held its 18th session in Geneva from May 4 to July 19, 1966. A major part of the meeting was again devoted to a consideration of the law of treaties. The Commission reexamined the remainder of the draft articles, revised certain earlier articles, decided upon the order of all

the articles, dealt with some general questions of terminology, and adopted the commentaries on all the articles. It also considered the procedural and organizational problems involved in a possible conference on the law of treaties.

In submitting the final text of its draft articles to the General Assembly, the Commission stated that it should serve as the basis for a convention on the law of treaties, rather than as an expository statement of law. The Commission recommended to the General Assembly that it convene an international conference of plenipotentiaries to study the draft articles and to conclude a convention on the subject.

The draft articles, although a substantial achievement, are limited in their scope to written treaties concluded between states. They do not deal with treaties between states and international organizations, the effect on treaties of succession of states, or the question of the international responsibility of a state for treaty violation.

Because it gave priority to work on the law of treaties, the Commission was able to devote only a limited amount of time at its 18th session to consideration of the draft articles on special missions. At its 17th session in 1965 the Commission had requested comments by governments on the draft articles which it had adopted at its 16th and 17th sessions. Because the number of governments communicating comments was limited, the Commission determined to request comments a second time. It also made a number of decisions on certain general questions regarding special missions which had arisen from the comments already received, and which it thought desirable to settle as a preliminary matter—e.g., whether special rules of law should be drafted for so-called "high level" special missions. The Special Rapporteur, Milan Bartoš of Yugoslavia, was asked to take account of these decisions in revising the draft articles.

Representatives of the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee, the European Committee on Legal Co-operation, and the Inter-American Council of Jurists attended the meetings of the Commission and informed it about the work of those bodies.

The second seminar on international law, organized by the U.N. European Office for advanced students and young government officials responsible for dealing with questions of international law, was held in Geneva during the Commission's 18th session. The Commission found the seminar to be a useful experience for all concerned and recommended that further seminars be organized at future sessions.

Special Committee

ON PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW CONCERNING FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND COOPERATION AMONG STATES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

In 1965 the General Assembly reconstituted the Special Committee on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States and requested it to complete the consideration and elaboration of the seven principles which had been under discussion in the Sixth Committee of the General Assembly for several years.

The Assembly also added four new members to the Committee resulting in the following composition: Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Burma, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, France, Ghana, Guatemala, India, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Lebanon, Malagasy Republic, Mexico, Netherlands, Nigeria, Poland, Romania, Sweden, Syria, U.S.S.R., United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

Four of the principles had been considered by the Special Committee at Mexico City in 1964. These were (1) the principle that states shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations; (2) the principle that states shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered; (3) the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any state, in accordance with the Charter; and (4) the principle of the sovereign equality of states. The Committee was to continue its consideration of these principles "having full regard to matters on which the previous Special Committee was unable to reach agreement and to the measure of progress achieved on particular matters." The remaining principles, to be studied by the Committee for the first time, were (5) the duty of states to cooperate with one another in accordance with the Charter; (6) the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; and (7) the principle that states shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter. The Committee was instructed to "submit a comprehensive report on the results of its study of the seven principles . . . including its conclusions and recommendations, with a view to enabling the General Assembly to adopt a declaration containing an enunciation of these principles."

The Committee met at U.N. Headquarters for seven weeks in March and April 1966. It established a drafting committee early in the session. As at the 1964 session in Mexico City, much of the detailed negotiation on texts of the seven principles took place in this body, or in the smaller working groups on each principle which the drafting committee set up.

On two of the seven principles—peaceful settlement and sovereign equality of states—the Special Committee adopted texts setting out points of consensus. It regarded neither of these as an exhaustive legal statement of the principle, and its report listed in each case a number of important issues on which no general agreement had been achieved. The United States and most other members nevertheless considered these texts useful forward steps.

Principle of Peaceful Settlement of Disputes

The Committee adopted the following text:

"1. Every State shall settle its international disputes with other States by peaceful means, in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered;

"2. States shall accordingly seek early and just settlement of their international disputes by negotiation, inquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements or other peaceful means of their choice. In seeking such a settlement the parties shall agree upon such peaceful means as may be appropriate to the circumstances and nature of the dispute;

"3. The parties to a dispute have the duty, in the event of failure to reach a solution by any one of the above peaceful means, to continue to seek a settlement of the dispute by other peaceful means agreed upon by them;

"4. States parties to an international dispute, as well as other States, shall refrain from any action which may aggravate the situation so as to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, and shall act in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations;

"5. International disputes shall be settled on the basis of the sovereign equality of States and in accordance with the principle of free choice of means. Recourse to, or acceptance of, a settlement procedure freely agreed to by the parties shall not be regarded as incompatible with sovereign equality;

"6. Nothing in the foregoing paragraphs prejudices or derogates from the applicable provisions of the Charter, in particular those relating to the pacific settlement of international disputes."

The text resolved some issues which had remained outstanding when the Committee concluded its 1964 session. For example, in paragraph 2, which is based on article 33 of the Charter, Communist delegations agreed to give up their earlier insistence that "negotiation" should have a legally privileged position among the methods of peaceful settlement (a position which the United States had long maintained would be inconsistent with the Charter).

In a number of respects, however, the document was more significant for what it omitted than what it contained. For example, a proposal by Dahomey, Italy, Japan, the Malagasy Republic, and the Netherlands, which the United States strongly supported, contained the following paragraphs:

"3. In order to ensure the more effective application of the principle [of peaceful settlement of disputes]:

"(a) Legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice, and in particular States should endeavour to accept the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice pursuant to Article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the Court.

"(b) General multilateral agreements, concluded under the auspices of the United Nations, should provide that disputes relating to the interpretation or application of the agreement, and which the parties have not been able to settle by negotiation, or any other peaceful means, may be referred on the application of any party to the International Court of Justice or to an arbitral tribunal, the members of which are appointed by the parties, or, failing such appointment, by an appropriate organ of the United Nations.

"(c) Members of the United Nations and United Nations organs should continue their efforts in the field of codification and progressive development of international law with a view to strengthening the legal basis of the judicial settlement of disputes.

"(d) The competent organs of the United Nations should avail themselves more fully of the powers and functions conferred upon them by the Charter in the field of peaceful settlement, with a view to ensuring that all disputes are settled by peaceful means in such a manner that not only international peace and security but also justice is preserved."

The United States and a number of other members thought these statements merited inclusion in the text because of their close relationship with the practical application of the legal principle of peaceful settlement. The most vocal opposition to these paragraphs came from Communist delegations, who have traditionally been opposed to enhancing the effectiveness of formal mechanisms of dispute-settlement, as their earlier

insistence on the primacy of "direct negotiation" indicates.

Principle of Sovereign Equality of States

The Special Committee adopted the following text:

"1. All States enjoy sovereign equality. They have equal rights and duties and are equal members of the international community, notwithstanding differences of an economic, social, political or other nature.

"2. In particular, sovereign equality includes the following elements:

"(a) States are juridically equal.

"(b) Each State enjoys the rights inherent in full sovereignty.

"(c) Each State has the duty to respect the personality of other States.

"(d) The territorial integrity and political independence of the State are inviolable.

"(e) Each State has the right freely to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems.

"(f) Each State has the duty to comply fully and in good faith with its international obligations and to live in peace with other States."

This text differs from the points of consensus adopted by the Special Committee in 1964 only in the second sentence of the first paragraph. The 1964 text had read:

"As subjects of international law they have equal rights and duties."

Again, the list of proposals which failed to command general agreement was as instructive as the agreed text itself. Three aspects of the principle—the right of states to participate in international settlements, the right of states to dispose of their natural resources, and the duties of states in the conduct of activities having harmful effects on foreign territory—were the subject of particularly intensive negotiation and, although controversial, came very close to achieving unanimously supported texts.

The United States proposed the addition of a third paragraph to the agreed text:

"3. As a principle upon which the United Nations is based, sovereign equality prohibits arbitrary discrimination among States Members as regards the rights and duties of membership. In particular,

"A. No Member shall be deprived of equal enjoyment of the rights of membership except in accordance with provisions of the Charter, and

"B. All Members are equally obligated to share in bearing the burdens of membership to the extent of their respective capacities and in accordance with the provisions of the Charter."

This amendment was attacked by the Soviet Representative who charged that it was inconsistent with the Charter which prohibited *all* discrimination, not just "arbitrary" discrimination. In reply, the United States pointed out that the Charter does discriminate in certain ways: for example, in according special legal status to permanent members of the Security Council. The U.S. amendment would have dealt with discrimination for which there was no basis in the law of the Charter.

Other proposals which failed to obtain a consensus included an amendment by the United Kingdom that every state "has the duty to conduct its relations with other States in conformity with international law and with the principle that the sovereignty of each State is subject to the supremacy of international law," and a proposal by Czechoslovakia declaring the right of every state to join international organizations.

Prohibition of Threat or Use of Force

Despite long and intensive negotiations both within the drafting committee and in informal negotiating sessions, the Special Committee was unable to formulate texts on the other five principles which could command general agreement.

The United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia cosponsored the following proposal on the principle of nonuse of force:

"1. Every State has the duty to refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

"2. In accordance with the foregoing fundamental principle, and without limiting its generality:

"(a) Wars of aggression constitute international crimes against peace.

"(b) Every State has the duty to refrain from organizing or encouraging the organization of irregular or volunteer forces or armed bands within its territory or any other territory for incursions into the territory of another State or *across international lines of demarcation, and to refrain from acts of armed reprisal or attack.*

"(c) Every State has the duty to refrain from instigating, assisting or organizing civil strife or committing terrorist acts in another State or across international lines of demarcation, or from conniving at or acquiescing in organized activities directed towards such ends, when such acts involve a threat or use of force.

"(d) Every State has the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force to violate the existing boundaries of another State or *other international lines of demarcation,* or as a means of solving its international disputes, including territorial disputes and problems concerning frontiers between States.

"3. Nothing in the foregoing paragraphs is intended to affect the provisions of the Charter concerning the lawful use of force, *when undertaken by or under the authority of a competent United Nations organ or by a regional agency acting in accordance with the Charter, or in exercise of the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense.*"

Except for the italicized portions, this text followed the one formulated by the 1964 session of the Special Committee, accepted at that time by all members but the United States, and at the 20th session of the General Assembly by the United States as well. The additions to the Mexico City text were designed to make clear that the Charter's prohibition on the use of force applies alike to armed attack and armed reprisal and that it applies not only to actions across acknowledged international boundaries but also to actions across other international lines of demarcation. Further, the additions would have made more explicit the reference to the lawful uses of force set forth in paragraph 3.

The debate in the Committee and some of the other proposals showed clearly that a number of delegations were no longer willing to accept the text which had commanded near unanimous agreement in 1964. Communist and some nonaligned delegations insisted on provisions which would legitimize the use of force in what they called "self-defense against colonial domination," notwithstanding the absence in the Charter of any statement of such an exception to the general prohibition on the threat or use of force. They also insisted on explicitly broadening the term "force" to include the application of economic and political pressure.

Communist delegations also maintained that any statement setting forth the lawful uses of force must make no mention of the use of force pursuant to authorization by the General Assembly or by regional organizations such as the Organization of American States. The United States and certain other members opposed these demands.

Communist and some nonaligned members also opposed any reference to "other international lines of demarcation," as in the text cosponsored by the United States. In reply, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Nabrit, pointed out that it was in connection with the illicit use of force across truce, armistice, and similar demarcation lines falling short of acknowledged international boundaries—some of which were even now under U.N. supervision—that the United Nations had encountered some of its gravest difficulties.

The drafting committee could not agree on more than a restatement of article 2, paragraph 4 of the Charter, together with a provision concerning "wars of aggression." The Special Committee considered this insufficient to report to the General Assembly as a comprehensive statement of the prohibition of the threat or use of force. The United States expressed regret that the much broader area of agreement which had been achieved in the text formulated at Mexico City now appeared to have withered away almost entirely.

Principle of Nonintervention

There were wide and unreconciled differences not only on what a statement of this principle should contain, but also on a logically prior question of principle: namely, the relevance to the work of the Special Committee of the General Assembly's resolution 2131, "Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty." This resolution had been adopted by the 20th General Assembly in 1965 by a vote of 109 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention (U.K.). At that time the U.S. Representative had stated our position which in 1966 was reaffirmed to the Special Committee: that the resolution was an important milestone in the Assembly's efforts to formulate political standards of conduct but was not intended as a statement of law, and that the Assembly intended the drafting of legal statements to be left to the lawyers who represented their governments in the Special Committee on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations.

The United States and a number of other members pointed out that, as a statement of legal principle, resolution 2131 was both incomplete (it made no reference to the right of self-defense and its application to intervention) and over-inclusive (it contained a provision prohibiting the deprivation of "peoples" of their "national identity," whereas legally the concept of intervention applies between states, not "peoples"). In various respects, moreover, it was too imprecisely drafted to serve as a statement of law, couched as it was in the language of political declaration. Consequently, the job of the Special Committee was to extract the legal content from the resolution, using such of its language as was appropriate, and supplementing it as necessary to produce an accurate and complete statement of international law. This was the purpose of a proposal cosponsored by the United States with Australia, Canada, France, Italy, and the United Kingdom:

"1. Every State has the duty to refrain from intervening, directly or indirectly, in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any State. Every State has an inalienable right freely to

choose its political, economic, social, or cultural systems, without intervention by another State, and the right freely to choose the form and degree of its association with other States, subject to its international obligations.

"2. In accordance with the foregoing principle:

"A. Every State shall refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any other State.

"B. No State shall take action of such design and effect as to impair or destroy the political independence or territorial integrity of another State.

"C. Accordingly, no State shall instigate, foment, organize or otherwise encourage subversive activities directed toward the violent overthrow of the regime of another State, whether by invasion, armed attack, infiltration of personnel, terrorism, clandestine supply of arms, the fomenting of civil strife, or other forcible means. In particular, States shall not employ such means to impose or attempt to impose upon another State a specific form of government or mode of social organization.

"D. The right of States in accordance with international law to take appropriate measures to defend themselves individually or collectively against intervention is a fundamental element of the inherent right of self-defence.

"3. Nothing in the foregoing shall be construed as derogating from:

"A. the generally recognized freedom of States to seek to influence the policies and actions of other States, in accordance with international law and settled international practice and in a manner compatible with the principle of sovereign equality of States and the duty to cooperate in accordance with the Charter;

"B. the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, in particular those contained in Chapters IV through VIII."

However, the nonaligned and Latin American delegations, later joined by the Communist delegations, argued that resolution 2131 should be regarded as a statement of law, and that the Special Committee should simply recommend to the General Assembly that it incorporate the provisions of that resolution as the text on nonintervention in an eventual comprehensive legal declaration on the seven principles. These delegations stated that the Special Committee should consider only purely drafting changes in the text of resolution 2131, plus proposals for any additional provisions on the principle of nonintervention. To this end, the United Arab Republic and Chile introduced a draft resolution which stated that resolution 2131 reflected a universal legal conviction qualifying it to be regarded as an authentic and definite principle of international law. The draft continued by saying that the Special Committee:

"1. Decides that with regard to the principle of nonintervention the Special Committee will abide by General Assembly resolution 2131(XX) of 21 December 1965; and

"2. Instructs the Drafting Committee, without prejudice to the provisions of the preceding paragraph, to direct its work on the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any State towards the consideration of additional proposals, with the aim of widening the area of agreement of General Assembly resolution 2131(XX)."

The United States and some other delegations vigorously opposed this draft. They pointed out that the same session of the Assembly which had adopted resolution 2131 had reconstituted the Special Committee and referred to it the principle of nonintervention for further considera-

tion. The Special Committee would not discharge this mandate if it simply adopted the provisions of a prior resolution without further scrutiny as to their adequacy as legal statements. Moreover, it would be wrong for the Committee to assert, by means of a mere majority vote, the existence of a "universal" legal conviction. The Special Committee was charged with achieving general agreement on legal texts, and since a number of delegations had already indicated they could not accept the text of resolution 2131 as a statement of law, adoption of the U.A.R.-Chile draft would amount to abandoning the effort to achieve general agreement.

The United States and certain other delegations then proposed a number of amendments to bring the draft into conformity with the correct view of the relevance of resolution 2131 to the Committee's task. In general, these amendments were not adopted, and the U.A.R.-Chile draft was passed by a vote of 22 to 8 (Australia, Canada, France, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, U.K., U.S.), with 1 abstention (Sweden).

Operating under the restrictions imposed upon it by this resolution, the drafting committee was unable to examine the adequacy of resolution 2131 as a statement of international law and remained in disagreement on this question. It considered a number of proposals which were put forward as "additional" to resolution 2131, but could not reach agreement on any of these. The chairman of the drafting committee reported that there had been "at every turn an embarrassing lack of agreement."

Duty To Cooperate

The United States, Australia, Canada, Italy, and the United Kingdom introduced the following proposal on the "duty of States to cooperate with one another in accordance with the Charter":

"1. Each Member of the United Nations has the duty to co-operate with other Members in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations in order to create the conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations, including the maintenance of peace and security.

"2. Accordingly, all Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the United Nations for the achievement of:

"(a) higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;

"(b) solutions of international economic, social, health and related problems, and international cultural and educational co-operation; and

"(c) universal respect for, and observance of, human rights, fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

"3. In order to make this co-operation fully effective, each Member should, *inter alia:*

"(a) participate in and contribute to the work of effective international institutions and procedures, including the United Nations and its specialized agencies, designed for the achievement of solutions to economic, social, health and related problems, or for the promotion of international cultural and educational co-operation;

"(b) formulate its economic policy and its policy in respect of any economic assistance which it gives or receives, so as to contribute to the acceleration of economic growth and the equitable elevation of standards of living throughout the world and the economic and social progress and development of other States, and so

as to ensure the prudent and efficient use of economic means available to it;

"(c) participate in and contribute to the work of the United Nations towards disarmament; and

"(d) contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the Charter.

"4. The duty of a State to co-operate with other States in accordance with the Charter in no way implies or involves any derogation from the principle of sovereign equality of States, or from the duty to refrain from intervention in the domestic affairs of other States."

The first two paragraphs were derived from articles 55 and 56 of the Charter. Paragraph 3 set forth a list of specific activities in which States *should* engage in order to "make this co-operation fully effective." These three paragraphs reflected the position of the cosponsors that (1) since the inception of the U.N. Charter there has been a general legal duty of international cooperation; and that (2) although there cannot be a legal duty to engage in any particular method of cooperation, there are a number of specific actions which states ought to undertake if their co-operation is to be effective, and which should be considered in determining whether a state is fulfilling the duty to cooperate.

There was agreement in the Special Committee on the existence of the general legal duty. Certain members of the Committee disagreed, however, with the second part of the U.S. position. Czechoslovakia, for example, insisted that states have a specific legal duty to refrain from any discrimination in their relations with other states, "in particular discrimination by reason of differences in political, economic and social systems or in levels of economic development," and a proposal by Algeria, Burma, Cameroon, India, Kenya, Lebanon, the Malagasy Republic, the United Arab Republic, and Yugoslavia declared that states have a duty to "co-operate in the promotion of economic growth throughout the world, especially that of the developing countries."

The drafting committee came close to resolving the various points of difference, and when time ran out compelling it to discontinue work on this principle, discussions were continued informally among interested delegations. As the Special Committee's session drew to a close, a text emerged which apparently was acceptable to all members of the Committee except for a single paragraph which dealt with the controversial point of "non-discrimination" in international cooperation. The proposed text was as follows:

"1. States have the duty to co-operate with one another, irrespective of their different political, economic and social systems, in the various spheres of international relations, in order to maintain international peace and security and to promote international economic stability and progress and the general welfare of nations.

"2. To this end,

"(a) States shall co-operate with other States in the maintenance of international peace and security.

"(b) States shall conduct their international relations in the economic, social, technical and trade fields in accordance with the principles of sovereign equality and non-intervention, with a view to realizing international co-operation, free from discrimination based on differences in political, economic and social systems.

"3. States should co-operate in the economic, social and cultural fields, as well as in the field of science and technology, and for the promotion of international cultural and educational progress. States should co-operate in the promotion of economic growth

throughout the world, especially that of the developing countries."

This text was acceptable to the United States and a number of others. Some delegations, however, insisted that paragraph 2(b) should be changed to read "with a view to ensuring the realization of international cooperation." The session ended before this last remaining point of disagreement could be resolved.

Principle of Equal Rights and Self-Determination of Peoples

This is one of the most difficult and complex of the seven principles which the Special Committee considered. It was regrettable that time ran out before the Drafting Committee could consider in detail the three drafts which were submitted.

The United States proposed the following text:

"1. Every State has the duty to respect the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples.

"2. Applicability of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples in particular cases, and fulfilment of its requirements, are to be determined in accordance with the following criteria:

"A.(1) The principle is applicable in the case of:

"(a) a colony or other non-self-governing territory; or

"(b) a zone of occupation ensuing upon the termination of military hostilities; or

"(c) a trust territory.

"(2) The principle is *prima facie* applicable in the case of the exercise of sovereignty by a State over a territory geographically distinct and ethnically or culturally diverse from the remainder of that State's territory, even though not as a colony or other non-self-governing territory.

"(3) In the foregoing cases where the principle is applicable,

"(a) the power exercising authority, in order to comply with the principle, is to maintain a readiness to accord self-government, through their free choice, to the people concerned, make such good faith efforts as may be required to bring about the rapid development of institutions of free self-government, and, in the case of trust territories, conform to the requirements of Chapter XII of the Charter of the United Nations;

"(b) the principle is satisfied by the restoration of self-government, or, in the case of territories not having previously enjoyed self-government, by its achievement, through the free choice of the people concerned. The achievement of self-government may take the form of:

"(1) emergence as a sovereign and independent State;

"(2) free association with an independent State; or

"(3) integration with an independent State.

"B. The existence of a sovereign and independent State possessing a representative Government, effectively functioning as such as to all distinct peoples within its territory, is presumed to satisfy the principle of equal rights and self-determination as regards those peoples."

In introducing this draft, the U.S. Representative noted that:

> . . . it is significant, in itself, that we are now discussing not merely the desirability, wisdom or justice of respecting the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, but the legal obligation to do so. This, in the recorded history of mankind, is something relatively new under the sun.

Ambassador Nabrit described the U.S. text as an effort to state the scope and content of the principle, under the U.N. Charter. He noted that the principle of self-determina-

tion is not limited to "classic colonial cases," and explained that paragraphs 2.A. (1) and (2) and the final paragraph applied the principle to other than colonial situations—e.g., a zone of military occupation. Explaining the final paragraph further, he stated that it served a dual function:

> First, no rational international legal order could exist if the Charter were taken to sanction an unlimited right of secession by indigenous peoples from sovereign and independent states. Nor can such a right be found in the Charter. Secondly, however, the Charter does, by the very inclusion of the concept of self-determination of *peoples*—I emphasize *peoples*—provide us a certain standard by which to judge the legitimacy of the modes of political organization which are imposed upon peoples within the framework of a world community composed of sovereign states. In our draft, it is the function of the phrase "possessing a representative Government, effectively functioning as such as to all distinct peoples within its territory" to express that standard.

The U.S. proposal contrasted sharply both in content and tone with the other proposals on this principle—one by Czechoslovakia and another by Algeria, Burma, Cameroon, Dahomey, Ghana, India, Kenya, Lebanon, the Malagasy Republic, Nigeria, Syria, the United Arab Republic, and Yugoslavia. These drafts had two main features in common: (1) an imperative declaration that colonialism "in all its forms" is contrary to international law, and (2) rules legitimizing the use of force in the elimination of colonialism, including provisions that territories under "colonial domination" are not integral parts of the territory of the colonial power.

The U.S. Representative pointed out the difficulty that these two proposals raised with respect to the scope of the lawful uses of force under the Charter. The U.S. delegation, he stated,

> . . . cannot find in the United Nations Charter any *separate and special* treatment of colonial or other situations involving the principle of self-determination, as regards the lawful use of force. This is our conviction, as a matter of law, from an examination of the Charter's scheme for the self-determination of peoples. As a matter of policy, we express our confidence in the adequacy of that scheme—which certainly embraces virtually the whole of the Charter—to the task which it is designed to meet.

Duty To Fulfill Obligations in Good Faith

The last topic considered by the Special Committee was the "principle that states shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter." The fundamental importance of this principle to the international legal order was recognized on all sides, but, as with the previous principles, a number of differences emerged as proposals were tabled.

The United States and the United Kingdom cosponsored the following proposal:

> "1. Every State has the duty to fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by it in accordance with the Charter.
>
> "2. In particular:
>
> "A. (1) The obligations of treaties and other obligations of international law may not be lawfully avoided on grounds of incompatibility with either national law or national policy;
>
> "(2) Upon the faithful performance of such obligations rests the right to exact and enjoy similar performance by others.
>
> "B. States Members of the United Nations and its specialized agencies have the duty:
>
> "(1) to fulfill in good faith the obligations placed upon them by the constitution, rules of procedure, and mandatory decisions of those organizations; and
>
> "(2) so to conduct their participation that the organizations

themselves act in conformity with their constitutions, rules of procedure, and mandatory decisions and that the constitutional rights of other Members are not impaired.

"C. Where obligations arising out of international agreements are in conflict with the obligations imposed upon Members of the United Nations by the Charter of the United Nations, the latter obligations shall prevail."

This text sought to spell out the application of the principle in the case of treaty obligations and other obligations of international law, the particular obligations of states members of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, and conflicts between treaty provisions and the U.N. Charter as dealt with in the "supremacy clause" of article 103.

The U.S.-U.K. draft made no effort to set forth the circumstances under which obligations arise from a treaty or general international law. It thus differed from the two other drafts introduced (one by Czechoslovakia, and the other by Burma, Ghana, India, Malagasy Republic, Nigeria, Syria, United Arab Republic, and Yugoslavia). The former of these, for example, limited the duty to fulfill obligations arising from treaties to treaties which had been concluded "freely," "on a basis of equality," and "in accordance with" the other six principles of international law concerning friendly relations and cooperation among states. The U.S. Representative affirmed that the United States had no objection to a general reference to the many rules of treaty law establishing the criteria by which the validity of such instruments is determined, but that any such reference should encompass the whole of the law of treaties rather than two or three selected criteria. Otherwise the unfortunate implication might arise that the text was intended to modify the law of treaties in some way.

A critical difference emerged in the drafting committee when Communist delegations claimed that paragraph 2(B) of the U.S.-U.K. proposal, dealing with obligations arising from membership in the United Nations and its specialized agencies, was extraneous to the principle under consideration. They also objected to the inclusion of a statement based on article 103 of the Charter, which declares the supremacy of the Charter over conflicting treaty obligations.

Conclusion of the Special Committee

In its final report on the seven principles, the drafting committee expressed its regret that it had been able to present agreed formulations on only two of the principles, and pointed to insufficient time as one of the causes. The Special Committee noted this report but took no further action.

As at the 1964 session, the Special Committee's formulation of texts proceeded on the basis of consensus or "general agreement," although it was entitled at any time to adopt texts by majority vote if it wished. During the 1966 session the United States and a number of other delegations reiterated their support for proceeding by consensus, on the ground that a declaration adopted by a mere majority over the objections of substantial portions of the membership would amount to nothing more than an index of majority sentiment and would be valueless as a statement of international law.

However, some delegations manifested a growing impatience with this procedure. On the last day of the session the Lebanese Representative, on behalf of the delegations of 13 nonaligned nations, made a statement

on the methods of work of the Committee which concluded:

Having as their objective the early formulation and adoption of the declaration, the non-aligned delegations undertake to resort to the voting procedure in the General Assembly, and in future meetings of the Special Committee if such meetings should be decided upon, in order to ensure the realization of that objective.

General Assembly Consideration

At its 21st session the General Assembly referred five agenda items to its Sixth Committee: (1) the reports of the International Law Commission on its 1966 sessions; (2) consideration of principles of international law concerning friendly relations and cooperation among states in accordance with the U.N. Charter; (3) technical assistance to promote the teaching, study, dissemination, and wider appreciation of international law; (4) the draft Declaration on the Right of Asylum; and (5) progressive development of the law of international trade.

Reports of the International Law Commission

In the Sixth Committee many delegations congratulated the Commission and its Special Rapporteur, Sir Humphrey Waldock, for successfully completing the draft of the law of treaties during the Commission's 18th session. The Committee, on the recommendation of the Law Commission, adopted by a vote of 100 (U.S.) to 0, with 6 abstentions, a draft resolution calling for an international conference of plenipotentiaries on the law of treaties. The resolution, *inter alia,* decided that a conference should be convened to conclude an international convention on the law of treaties; requested the Secretary-General to convoke the first session of the conference early in 1968 and the second session early in 1969; and invited to the conference states members of the United Nations, members of the specialized agencies, parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice, and such other states as the Assembly "decides specially to invite."

The resolution was adopted only after a lengthy debate on the invitation formula, and the rejection by a vote of 33 to 53 (U.S.), with 19 abstentions, of a proposal by the U.S.S.R. and others to amend the resolution to invite "all states." Proponents of the amendment characterized the draft as "discriminatory" in regard to invitations to participate in the conference. However, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Bancroft, pointed out that the resolution did not necessarily exclude any state from participation since it provided for the possibility of special additional invitations by the General Assembly. He recalled the position frequently expressed by the Secretary-General that he could not apply a resolution instructing him to invite "all states" without special instructions from the Assembly as to what additional entities should be included. The practical effect of the "all states" formula would thus be to impede arrangements for the conference by a lengthy political debate on the whole controversial issue of which entities are entitled to be regarded as "states."

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The "all states" amendment was reintroduced in plenary and again rejected by a vote of 33 to 48 (U.S.), with 22 abstentions. The Assembly then adopted without change the resolution as recommended by the Sixth Committee.

During the 21st General Assembly the Sixth Committee also considered the draft articles being prepared on special intergovernmental missions. There was general agreement that the Commission should complete this work as soon as possible, preferably at its next session, so that the final draft articles might be considered during the 22d General Assembly.

The Sixth Committee unanimously adopted a resolution on the reports of the International Law Commission which approved the proposed work program for 1967; recommended that the Commission continue its work on special missions, the succession of states and governments, state responsibility, and relations between states and intergovernmental organizations; and expressed the wish that the Commission should continue to hold seminars in conjunction with its meetings and to encourage the participation in them of nationals from developing countries. The Assembly unanimously adopted this resolution without change.

Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States in Accordance With the Charter of the United Nations

When it considered this item, the General Assembly had before it the report of the Special Committee which met in March and April of 1966 (see page 247). There was general agreement that the Special Committee should be asked to meet for at least one additional session in an effort to complete formulations on the seven principles of international law covered by the item. Most of the debate in the Sixth Committee concerned the terms of reference under which the Special Committee would work.

Sixteen countries — Cameroon, Chile, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Panama, Sudan, the United Arab Republic, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia— sponsored a draft resolution which, *inter alia,* noted the Special Committee's report and the principles on which agreement was reached; asked the Special Committee to complete the formulation of the principles dealing with the use of force, cooperation, self-determination, and good faith fulfillment of obligations; and requested the Special Committee to meet again and prepare a comprehensive report and draft declaration on the seven principles to be submitted to the 22d General Assembly.

The United States and other countries objected to certain paragraphs of the draft resolution, however, and eventually a number of amendments were introduced by the United States, Australia, Canada, Jamaica, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, and the United Kingdom.

One amendment would have changed the language of a preambular paragraph to conform to that of a corresponding paragraph in the resolution of the 20th General Assembly which had convened the 1966 meeting of the Special Committee. The 16-power draft said, "Being convinced of the significance of continuing the effort to achieve as much general agreement as possible in the process of the elaboration of the seven principles of international law . . ." while the earlier resolution had called for "general agreement at every stage." In introducing the amend-

ment, the U.S. Representative pointed out that the paragraph dealt with the method of work of the Special Committee and the question of consensus *vs.* majority vote, which had been the subject of the most painstaking negotiation at the previous Assembly. That negotiation had resulted in a provision carefully balancing the desirability of trying to achieve general agreement on legal texts rather than mere majority support, on the one hand, and the possibility of reaching a decision by voting, on the other. The proposed draft resolution would alter this language so as to suggest that it had become less important to achieve general agreement on the texts of the seven principles. The sponsors of the draft resolution eventually revised the paragraph in question to the satisfaction of the United States and other sponsors of the amendment.

Other proposed amendments dealt with a more difficult problem: under what terms of reference should the Special Committee continue its consideration of the principle of nonintervention? And what relevance was to be accorded Assembly resolution 2131 (XX) and the 1966 decision of the Special Committee instructing its drafting committee to "abide by" that resolution?

The 16-power draft had two operative paragraphs on this problem:

"3. *Takes note* of the formulations of the 1966 Special Committee concerning the principle that States shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered and the principle of sovereign equality of States, and of its decision that with regard to the principle of non-intervention the Special Committee will abide by General Assembly resolution 2131(XX) of 21 December 1965;"

and

"6. *Further requests* the Special Committee to consider any additional proposals on the principle concerning the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, in accordance with the Charter, which could widen the area of agreement already expressed in General Assembly resolution 2131 (XX)."

The amendments cosponsored by the United States would have dealt with this problem in two ways. First, they would have deleted any reference to the decision of the 1966 Special Committee. Second, they would have changed paragraph 6 so as to request the Special Committee to complete the formulation of the principle of nonintervention "on the basis of" resolution 2131 and "in an effort to widen the area of agreement on the legal content of that principle."

The U.S. Representative recalled the unfortunate impasse which the 1966 Special Committee had reached when, in instructing its drafting committee, it cut off any examination of the adequacy of resolution 2131 as a legal text, even though a substantial number of delegations were on record as not accepting that resolution as a statement of international law. He pointed out that the 16-power draft would put the Special Committee back at the same impasse and would confirm the continued existence of disagreement on this principle.

As a result of the proposed amendments, the sponsors of the draft resolution revised operative paragraph 6 to read:

"*Requests* the Special Committee to consider proposals on the principle concerning the duty not to intervene in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of any State, in accordance with the Charter, with the aim of widening the area of agreement already expressed in General Assembly resolution 2131(XX):"

The United States and other cosponsors of the proposed amendments supported the revised paragraph because they believed it provided the Special

Committee with sufficient latitude for its consideration of the nonintervention principle.

The sponsors of the 16-power draft resolution were unwilling, however, to delete the reference in paragraph 3 to the decision of the 1966 Special Committee, and the proposed amendment was rejected by the Committee.

The resolution as amended was adopted November 28 by the Sixth Committee by a vote of 83 to 0, with 2 abstentions (U.S., France). The U.S. Representative explained that the United States had abstained because of what it regarded as an inappropriate and unhelpful reference to the decision of the 1966 Special Committee, a decision which had been responsible in large measure for the complete lack of progress on the principle of nonintervention. On December 12 the resolution was adopted in plenary by 85 to 0, with 2 abstentions (U.S., France).

QUESTION OF METHODS OF FACT-FINDING

As at the preceding session of the Assembly, this question was considered in conjunction with the item on principles of international law concerning friendly relations and cooperation among states. No substantive action was proposed, but the debate in the Sixth Committee concentrated on the desirability of developing new international institutions of fact-finding for use in the settlement of disputes or for other purposes, and the possibility of further U.N. activity in this field.

The U.S. Representative, Professor Richard N. Gardner, stated that the subject of fact-finding was

> . . . of central importance, not only in efforts to achieve political settlements and a reduction of tensions, but also in efforts toward arms control and general and complete disarmament. We see improved fact-finding procedures as an important part of a package of immediately realizable measures to lessen international tension and turn down the arms race.

He continued:

> . . . I am authorized to state today that the United States is prepared to accept impartial fact-finding—through a United Nations organ, a regional organization or bilateral arrangements, as may be appropriate—in *any* dispute to which we are a party *anywhere* in the world where there is a controversy over the facts.

A draft resolution inviting member states to submit further views on the subject of fact-finding, and inscribing the item on the provisional agenda of the next session of the Assembly, was adopted unanimously.

Technical Assistance To Promote the Teaching, Study, Dissemination, and Wider Appreciation of International Law

The 21st General Assembly implemented a U.N. program for technical assistance in international law which the United States believes will promote a wider understanding of the field and will contribute to the training of a cadre of lawyers in the new states who will be able to advise their governments on international legal problems both competently and with a concern for the strengthening of international law.

The Assembly's action followed several years of work and planning. A special committee, established in 1963 to draw up a "practical plan and proposals" for U.N. action, submitted its recommendations to the 20th Assembly which authorized a limited program of assistance and exchange in international law. This program included (1) steps to encourage and coordinate existing international law programs carried out by states, international organizations, and private institutions, and (2) forms of direct

assistance and exchange, such as seminars, training and refresher courses, fellowships, advisory services of experts, the provision of legal publications and libraries, and translations of major contemporary legal works. The General Assembly asked UNESCO and the U.N. Institute for Training and Research to participate in the program and requested the Secretary-General to start preparatory work and report on the implementation of the program to the 21st Assembly. The United States was appointed to a 10-nation Advisory Committee established to advise the Secretary-General on the substance of the program.

During 1966 the Advisory Committee met several times at U.N. Headquarters. The United States, represented by Stephen M. Schwebel, played an active role in developing recommendations to implement the program in the most effective and economical way. The Advisory Committee's final recommendations substantially agreed with the U.S. positions and were accepted in full by the Secretary-General who incorporated them in his report to the General Assembly.

During the debate on this report in the Sixth Committee, the U.S. Representative, Lawrence Hargrove, welcomed the progress made in the technical assistance program. He pointed out that such a program, by promoting a more thorough knowledge of international law, would foster a fuller realization of the potential of the law and enable a greater number of countries to participate in developing it. He stressed the importance of the proposed multilateral program, but cautioned that it should not be viewed as a substitute for programs better conducted by governments and private institutions than by international organizations. In the latter connection he referred to the extensive and expanding scope of international law activities in the United States, both in the governmental and private sectors. As one example, he described the 6-week seminar on international law held at the Harvard Law School during the summer of 1966 in which lawyers from the Middle East, Asia, Africa and Latin America had participated with an international faculty of eminent specialists.

The United States cosponsored a resolution adopted unanimously by the General Assembly on December 16 which authorized the Secretary-General to carry out the activities proposed in his report, including (1) holding a regional training and refresher course for Africa in Tanzania in 1967, in cooperation with UNESCO; (2) awarding 10 fellowships for the nationals of developing countries; (3) providing a set of U.N. legal publications to up to 15 institutions in developing countries; and (4) offering advisory services of experts, within the framework of existing technical assistance programs, upon request by developing countries.

Draft Declaration on the Right of Asylum

A "Draft Declaration on the Right of Asylum" was prepared by the Commission on Human Rights in 1960 and transmitted to the General Assembly by the Economic and Social Council later that year. The Assembly's Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) began considering it in 1962 when it adopted a preamble and article 1.

Because the heavy workload of the Third Committee had delayed further consideration, and because the item raised important legal questions, in 1965 the General Assembly allocated the Draft Declaration to its Sixth Committee. It also unanimously adopted a resolution that requested the Secretary-General to invite those member states which had not yet done so to submit their com-

ments on the Draft Declaration before the Assembly's 21st session, and decided to take up the Draft Declaration as soon as possible at its 21st session, "with a view to completing the text of the Draft Declaration as a whole."

At the 21st General Assembly the Sixth Committee appointed a 20-member working group to prepare a preliminary Draft Declaration on the basis of, among other things, the preamble and article 1 prepared by the Third Committee and comments received from member states. The members of the working group were Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Ceylon, Colombia, France, Hungary, Iraq, Japan, Mali, Mexico, Nigeria, Norway, Philippines, Sudan, Tanzania, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Venezuela. The working group held 14 meetings between November 14 and December 6, 1966, and on December 9 submitted a Draft Declaration consisting of a preamble and four articles. The Chairman of the working group, E. E. Seaton of Tanzania, explained that the group had acted on the understanding that it was not preparing legal norms but was laying down humanitarian principles which states might rely on in seeking to unify their practices relating to asylum.

The preamble of the Draft Declaration refers to article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which declares that everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution provided that this right "may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations."

Article 1 of the Draft Declaration provides that if a state grants territorial asylum to persons entitled to invoke the terms of article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, including persons struggling against colonialism, such a grant shall be respected by all other states. It further provides that the state granting asylum has the authority to evaluate the grounds for such a grant and that the right to seek and to enjoy asylum may not be invoked by any person if there are sound grounds for considering that he has committed "a crime against peace, a war crime, or a crime against humanity" as defined in pertinent international instruments.

A large minority of representatives had favored a proposed Uruguayan amendment deleting the words "including persons struggling against colonialism" from article 1 on the grounds that such a phrase was superfluous and introduced a contentious political element into what should be a generally acceptable text. Some representatives also pointed out that the colonial era was virtually ended and a specific mention of persons "struggling against colonialism" would clutter up the text with a reference which would not be of any interest or concern in the future. Moreover, the right of persons struggling against colonialism to seek asylum already came within the ambit of article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and there was no need to include a specific reference to it in the text. The United States also favored deletion of the phrase but suggested that, if the phrase were to be retained, it be appropriately worded and placed in the preamble.

Article 2 of the Draft Declaration notes the concern of the international community with the situation of persons entitled to invoke article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and provides that where a state has difficulty in granting or continuing to grant asylum other states—individually, jointly, or through the United Nations—shall consider appropriate measures to lighten that state's burden. The great majority of the members of the working group, including the United States, favored this provision on the grounds that it

provided for what was often a serious situation when a state was confronted by a mass influx of persons seeking asylum, and that it reflected provisions contained in the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. The contention by the Soviet Union and others that the paragraph might be interpreted to permit an infringement upon state sovereignty was rejected in light of the provision in paragraph 1 of article 2 expressly reaffirming state sovereignty.

Article 3 of the Draft Declaration provides that a state shall not reject at the frontier a person seeking asylum or expel him to any state where he may be subjected to persecution. Exception may be made to this principle only for overriding reasons of national security or in order to safeguard the receiving state's population, as in the case of a mass influx of persons. If a state decides, in an individual case, that an exception should be made, it should consider the possibility of granting to the person concerned an opportunity, through provisional asylum or other means, of going to another state.

Article 4 of the Draft Declaration provides that states granting asylum should not permit persons who have received asylum to engage in activities contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations. The earlier text of the Human Rights Commission had provided that persons enjoying asylum should not engage in such activities; the working group decided on this formulation instead because it believed that the Declaration should be addressed to states rather than to persons.

After a brief discussion on the Draft Declaration, the Sixth Committee on December 9 and the plenary on December 17 adopted unanimously a resolution which requested the Secretary-General to transmit the Draft Declaration to U.N. members for their further consideration, and decided to place the Draft Declaration on the agenda of the 22d General Assembly with a view to final adoption of a declaration on asylum at that time.

United Nations Commission on International Trade Law

The U.N. Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL) is the first permanent U.N. body established in the legal field since the International Law Commission in 1947. It is concerned with the private international law of trade, and is to promote the "progressive harmonization and unification of the law of international trade."

At the request of the 20th General Assembly the Secretary-General submitted to the 21st a report on the unification of trade law which was based on a draft by Professor Clive M. Schmitthoff of the City of London College, and prepared in consultation with leading international law experts, including Professor Willis L. Reese of Columbia University Law School. The report limited its consideration of the "law of international trade" to "the body of rules governing commercial relationships of a private law nature involving different countries," and excluded from consideration "international commercial relationships on the level of public law," such as those involved in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. It surveyed the current work undertaken by such organizations as the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law (UNIDROIT) and The Hague Conference on Private International Law, by regional intergovernmental groups such as the European Economic Community and the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, and by nongovernmental groups such as the International Chamber of Commerce and the

International Law Association. The Secretary-General concluded that there has already been a certain amount of unification and harmonization in the field, especially on subjects such as the international sale of goods, bills of exchange, bankers' commercial credits, and international maritime trade and commercial arbitration. Nevertheless, progress has been slow and the results have been modest in relation to the amount of effort expended. Further shortcomings which the report noted were the lack of opportunity for recently independent countries to participate in the work, the failure by the various formulating agencies to command worldwide acceptance, and the insufficient coordination and cooperation among those agencies. The Secretary-General therefore recommended the establishment of a U.N. organ to perform both a coordination and a formulation role in this field.

During the debate in the Sixth Committee, the U.S. Representative, Richard D. Kearney, affirmed that a U.N. organ could perform a constructive role in the work of harmonizing and unifying the law of international trade. At the same time, he noted, it would be necessary to insure that the resources and expertise of existing organizations such as UNIDROIT and The Hague Conference on Private International Law are effectively used rather than duplicated or displaced by the new group. The mandate of a new U.N. body should, therefore, stress a coordinating rather than a formulating function. The U.S. Representative further stated that the new agency should be responsible to the General Assembly; it should not be concerned with public international trade law; and its relationship to the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development should reflect their separation of interests since UNCTAD's main concern lay in economic policy and public international law. The United States also urged that the new body be small enough to permit it to work efficiently. He noted that there are great difficulties inherent in unifying and harmonizing national law and practice among the countries of the world, and that meaningful progress will therefore necessarily be slow and undramatic.

All of the U.S. concerns were met to a sufficient degree to enable the United States to cosponsor in the Sixth Committee the draft resolution that established UNCITRAL. The resolution, adopted unanimously by the General Assembly on December 17, authorized UNCITRAL to pursue by a variety of means its objective of promoting "the progressive harmonization and unification of the law of international trade." These include coordinating the work of organizations already active in this field and encouraging cooperation among them; preparing and promoting the adoption of international conventions and model uniform laws; promoting the codification of customs and practices, in collaboration—where appropriate—with existing organizations; promoting uniform interpretation and application of the international conventions and uniform laws in the field; and collecting and disseminating information on national legislation and legal developments concerning the law of international trade. UNCITRAL will submit an annual report to the General Assembly and, simultaneously, to UNCTAD for comment. UNCITRAL is, further, authorized to establish appropriate working relationships with intergovernmental and international nongovernmental organizations, a provision which will allow for the utilization of the resources of existing bodies in the field.

Although many states were interested in being represented on UNCITRAL, the Commission was restricted to a workable size of 29, including 7 African states, 5 Asian states, 5 Latin American states, 4 Eastern European states, and 8 Western European and other states. Elec-

tions to UNCITRAL will be held in 1967 during the 22d General Assembly. The 6-year terms of office will begin on January 1, 1968. Those states elected will appoint representatives to UNCITRAL from among persons of eminence in the field of international trade law.

Finally, it should be noted that, although the resolution itself does not qualify the term "international trade law" with the word "private," the legislative history, including the Secretary-General's report and the debate in the General Assembly, makes this qualification clear.

Budgetary, Financial, and Administrative Matters

Part Five

Committee of 14

The work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies (Committee of 14) was one of the most significant U.N. activities during 1966. The 20th General Assembly had requested this Committee (1) to analyze and report on the U.N. financial situation, and (2) to examine the entire range of the budgetary problems of the U.N. family of organizations and make recommendations (a) to secure better utilization of funds, and (b) to insure that any expansion of activities takes into account the needs they are intended to meet and the costs to member states. Ambassador Goldberg had given full support to this comprehensive review of U.N. operations, noting that the growth in activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies had increased the need to assure the most effective use of the limited resources available, and that this could not be accomplished unless the procedures and management in each organization were subject to review from time to time.

The Committee was composed of the following countries designated by the President of the General Assembly: Argentina, Brazil, Canada, France, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Nigeria, Senegal, U.S.S.R., United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, and the United States. Ambassador Mario Majoli of Italy was elected Chairman of the Committee. The U.S. Representative was Ambassador Philip M. Klutznick.

Early in 1966 the Committee of 14 began its examination of the U.N. financial situation, which had become critical as a result of the failure of the Soviet Union, France, and other countries to pay their assessments for certain peacekeeping operations. After a thorough review of a report by the Secretary-General and other pertinent information, the Committee issued its first report on March 26, 1966. This report analyzed the U.N. finances as of September 30, 1965, in order to determine the amount of money needed in voluntary contributions to help restore the United Nations to solvency, assuming that the defaulters were unlikely to pay any substantial part of their peacekeeping arrears by the end of 1966.

The report concluded that the deficit, after taking into account the $20 million in voluntary contributions which certain countries had already paid or pledged, was $53 million in the opinion of some members of the Committee and $32 million in

the opinion of others. The difference between the higher and the lower estimates was mainly due to conflicting views over "surplus accounts" on the books for the operations in the Middle East (UNEF) and the Congo (UNOC). These accounts represent the excess of appropriations over actual expenditures. The United States and many others considered that these accounts were bona fide obligations of the United Nations and that the surpluses should be credited to member states that contributed to the operations as soon as money is available. On this basis, the United States supported the higher deficit figure of $53 million. The Soviet Union and France, however, took the position that only $32 million was required because, in their view, no such surplus accounts exist for UNOC and UNEF, whose legality they contest.

The Committee's first report was valuable in furnishing a detailed account of the current deficit, thus providing a basis for the voluntary contributions requested by the General Assembly to help solve the U.N. financial problems. However, neither the U.S.S.R. nor France made such contributions by the end of 1966.

After completing its analysis of the U.N. financial situation, the Committee of 14 proceeded to the second stage of its work—an examination of the budgetary problems of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. The Committee considered written replies from the various organizations to a questionnaire it had prepared and engaged in a comprehensive exchange of views with representatives of the organizations. It then prepared a detailed report containing numerous recommendations for administrative and budgetary improvements in the operations of the organizations.

The United States actively participated in the deliberations of the Committee and initiated many of the recommendations it adopted. On April 21, 1966, Ambassador Klutznick made a comprehensive statement outlining U.S. views on the major problems the Committee should examine. He expressed the opinion that the Committee's work would be successful if it recognized the common interest of all "to encourage and abet new and continued efforts to produce more effective programs for each unit of money expended" and "to bring forth the realization that, the greater the need, the more important it is to recognize a limitation on resources and to make the most of what we can mobilize through better planning over a longer time period and sound selection of priorities."

In this connection he recalled the President's memorandum of March 15, 1966, to the Secretary of State on "United States Participation in International Organizations and Programs." The President had observed that "no nation has been a greater supporter of the United Nations, its specialized agencies and other international organizations than the United States," which would "continue to meet its fair share of the financial requirements of these organizations." At the same time, however, the President had also said: "If we are to be a constructive influence in helping to strengthen the international agencies so they can meet essential new needs, we must apply to them the same rigorous standards of program performance and budget review that we do to our own Federal programs" in order to see that future expansion of these activities "is governed by the tests of feasibility and reasonableness" and that each agency "operates with a maximum of effectiveness and economy."

After a 3-week session in Geneva and a 7-week meeting in New York, the Committee issued its second report on July 19, 1966. The report pointed out that the Committee had concentrated on basic measures needed "to ensure greater efficiency

and real value for money in the vital work of human, social and economic development," and that it had paid particular attention to "over-all efficiency, to the elimination of possible duplication and overlapping, to improved methods of budget preparation and presentation, to inspection and control, to better administration, long-term planning and evaluation and to the best utilization of available resources, both human and material."

Among the important recommendations included in the second report were the following:

1. The specialized agencies having an annual budget cycle should adopt a biennial cycle and the Secretary-General should study the advantages and disadvantages of a biennial cycle for the United Nations.

2. A joint inspection unit should be established. The unit would consist of a very limited number of inspectors who could make on-the-spot investigations of any of the services of the different organizations of the U.N. family. They would have the broadest powers of investigation in all matters having a bearing on the efficiency of the services and proper use of funds, would prepare reports on their findings, and would propose solutions to problems.

3. Each of the organizations should take early steps to adopt an integrated system of long-term planning, program formulation, and budget preparation.

4. The organizations should take steps to improve their evaluation process and make greater use in program formulation and execution of information resulting from internal reviews of their operations, as well as the views of the member states in which these operations are conducted. ECOSOC should continue its evaluation of the impact of programs.

5. The specialized agencies, the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ), and the General Assembly should, to the extent practicable, perform their respective budget reviews in time to enable the agencies to take the Assembly's recommendations into consideration before adopting their budgets. The ACABQ and the Administrative Committee on Coordination should strengthen their coordination roles. ECOSOC should reconstitute its Special Committee on Coordination (see page 89) to consist of experts. The Committee should prepare recommendations on the coordination of activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

6. Each major organ of the United Nations and the specialized agencies should review the conference programs of its related bodies with a view to reducing total meeting time. The organizations should take into account certain enumerated guidelines in planning future meetings.

The second report of the Committee was referred to the Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary) Committee of the 21st General Assembly for consideration. On October 25, 1966, the U.S. Representative, Senator Frank Church, strongly endorsed in the Fifth Committee the work of the Committee of 14. He pointed out that with the Committee's first report, the United Nations had a detailed account of its financial condition and the action required to bring it to solvency.

> . . . Now that the extent of the deficit has been established more clearly, we have a right to hope and to expect that those countries which have not contributed to certain peacekeeping operations will make voluntary contributions to restore the United Nations to solvency in keeping with the consensus reached in the General Assembly last year.

Turning to the second report of the Committee, Senator Church emphasized that the United States would like to see its recommendations implemented as soon as possible throughout the U.N. system and expressed the view that their adoption would contribute substantially toward developing a more effective United Nations.

In his concluding remarks on the Committee of 14 report, the U.S. Representative said:

> When we consider that the total funds available to the United Nations and the specialized agencies now amounts to half a billion dollars annually, that the needs of member states in the field of economic and social developments are vast, and that these needs compete with every nation's domestic demands and other obligations, it is evident that each agency within the U.N. family must operate as efficiently as possible.

On October 27 a draft resolution cosponsored by the United States and 70 other countries was introduced. Under it the General Assembly would approve the report and its recommendations, urge that the recommendations be given the most attentive consideration by the United Nations with a view to their earliest implementation, recommend that the specialized agencies also take appropriate measures to implement the recommendations as soon as possible, and invite the Secretary-General to report to the next session of the General Assembly on the implementation of the recommendations by the U.N. family of organizations.

The Fifth Committee unanimously approved the resolution on October 31, and it was adopted by the General Assembly in plenary session on November 4, again by a unanimous vote.

United Nations Budget

Debate on the 1967 regular budget of the United Nations began in the General Assembly's Fifth Committee on October 10, 1966, with an opening statement by the Secretary-General. Representatives of 62 member states subsequently spoke on various aspects of the budget and its presentation.

The Secretary-General first discussed the U.N. financial situation and reiterated his hope that the report of the Committee of 14 would provide an acceptable basis for liquidation of the substantial deficit. Turning to the 1967 budget, he noted that his initial estimates (which did not include supplementary estimates that would come from subsequent decisions of the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly) amounted to $128.2 million, an increase of approximately $6.7 million over the 1966 budget. The Secretary-General indicated that he considered these estimates conservative, inasmuch as they provided little room for growth to meet the continued upward trend in activities. Many delegations agreed with this assessment, recalling that the Organization was in a process of constant development and had to cope with increasingly numerous and complex problems. The growth in related expenditures was thus a factor that had to be accepted if the United Nations was to carry out successfully the responsibilities entrusted to it. Others, however, were not convinced that the marked increase over the level of appropriations for 1966 corresponded to the actual expansion of activities.

On October 25 Senator Frank Church spoke for the United States. He expressed the view that the countries which contributed the major portion of the funds for U.N. economic and social programs would be more willing to continue to do so if they had assurance that a genuine attempt was being made to avoid wasteful duplication of programs and swollen administrative costs. He congratulated the Secretariat on the excellence of its presentations to the Committee

and commended the ACABQ for its work in reviewing the budget estimates. He indicated that the United States would support the ACABQ's recommended reductions of $1.7 million, but was concerned whether even these economies were sufficient and whether further economies could not be made without any adverse effect on the approved programs.

Later in the session Ambassador George Killion, the U.S. Representative, again raised the question of economy. He expressed the U.S. opinion that the budget could be reduced by at least $1 million beyond the reductions of the ACABQ "without detriment to the effective carrying out of United Nations programs." He made suggestions for specific cuts and affirmed the U.S. view that the additional cost-consciousness and financial discipline which would result from such cuts would increase the efficiency of the Organization.

The Fifth Committee accepted the Secretary-General's estimates as reduced by the ACABQ but did not accept the further cuts. On December 16 it approved a total expenditure budget for 1967 of $130,314,230, including supplementary amounts to take into account decisions of the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly. This budget was adopted by the General Assembly on December 20 by a vote of 95 (U.S.) to 1, with 14 abstentions.

The final figure represented an increase of $8,746,810 over the 1966 budget. The increase was mainly attributable to rises in U.N. staff costs and related expenses; additional costs resulting from the establishment of UNIDO; an increase in the costs of UNCTAD; and increases for buildings, maintenance, and improvements, replacement of equipment, and general expenses.

After deducting credits due for U.N. bond repayments and interest, the U.S. share of the total assessments against members was $33,619,762.

U.N. Bonds

During the debate on the U.N. budget, the Fifth Committee considered a draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Brazil, India, and Nigeria, which would have changed the procedure for repayment of the U.N. bonds by removing this expense from the regular budget and establishing a separate account for bond amortization and interest to be financed by a special scale of contributions. The proponents of the draft resolution argued that since special scales for the financing of peacekeeping operations had been approved by the General Assembly, the repayment of the bonds, which had been used mainly to meet expenses of UNOC and UNEF, ought also to be based on a special scale.

The United States took the lead in strongly opposing the draft resolution. In an address to the Fifth Committee on November 8, Ambassador Goldberg recalled that the General Assembly had authorized the bond issue in order to give the Organization a respite from the financial difficulties it was encountering as a result of the refusal of certain states to pay their assessments for the peacekeeping operations. He noted that all possible solutions had been debated at length by the 16th General Assembly in 1961 before it decided to authorize the issuing of bonds up to a total of $200 million. At that time all concerned had been well aware that most of the proceeds from the bonds would be used to finance the UNOC and UNEF operations. The authorizing resolution had laid down the conditions for repayment and had stated that an amount for that purpose would be included annually in the

regular U.N. budget. It was on this basis that 64 nations had purchased the bonds. The U.S. Representative emphasized that the U.S. Government, which had purchased bonds worth $76 million, had assured Congress that the United Nations would fulfill its commitments with regard to repayment. Any decision to change the method of repayment now would be a major breach of faith and might seriously shake the confidence of member states.

The U.S. Representative made it clear that his delegation was required to oppose any change in the method of repayment and that the United States could not agree to pay any larger share of the total cost of repayment than it did now under the regular scale of assessment. If the Assembly nevertheless decided to change the methods, terms, and conditions of repayment, the United States would be obliged to take a very careful and hard look at the entire range of U.N. finances.

Later in the debate, on November 14, Senator Church also stressed the serious U.S. concern over the possibility of changed terms for the repayment of the bonds and stated that such a change could lead to breaking down what amounted to a contractual obligation by the United Nations, could open the door to exclusion of other items from the regular budget, and could further exacerbate the entire U.N. financing problem.

In concert with other delegations holding similar views, the United States was successful in having consideration of the draft resolution postponed until the 22d General Assembly.

Pattern of Conferences

An exceptionally large number of delegations referred during the Fifth Committee debate to the financial and administrative problems caused by the increasing number of conferences taking place within the U.N. family of organizations. The ACABQ had recommended establishing a special committee to serve as a control over the program of meetings, and on December 20 the General Assembly adopted without objection a resolution on this question.

The resolution establishes, on an experimental basis, a 15-state Committee on Conferences. The resolution provides that the Secretary-General will draw up each August a provisional calendar of meetings and conferences planned by the entire U.N. family of organizations for the two following calendar years, together with a complete statement of the resources required for the proposed schedule. Both the ACABQ and the Committee on Conferences will then review this information, and the latter, taking into account the resources available, will make recommendations on any proposals for new meetings and conferences under consideration by the Assembly. In the closing stages of each regular Assembly session, and in consultation with the chairmen of the principal organs and the main committees, the Committee on Conferences will compile the calendar of U.N. meetings and conferences for the following year and submit it to the General Assembly for approval.

The President of the General Assembly designated the United States as one of the 15 members of the new Committee.

U.N. Peacekeeping Operations

U.N. Emergency Force (UNEF)

On December 12, 1966, the General Assembly's Fifth Committee considered the Secretary-General's report on the revised UNEF cost estimates for 1966 and the cost estimates for 1967. The Committee also had before it a draft resolution introduced by Canada and sponsored by Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Ecuador, Ghana, Italy, Jamaica, Liberia, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, the Philippines, Sweden, and Yugoslavia. As amended, Part A of the draft resolution approved the revised cost estimate for 1966 of $16,146,000 and, since the 20th General Assembly had appropriated only $15 million for UNEF in 1966, authorized the Secretary-General to draw the additional $1,146,000 from the UNEF surplus account, which had resulted from larger appropriations than expenditures in some earlier years.

Part B of the resolution appropriated $14 million for the operation of UNEF in 1967 and apportioned the amount among U.N. members in a manner similar to that used in 1965 and 1966, i.e., $13,260,000 among the developed countries and $740,000 among the developing countries on the basis of the regular U.N. scale of assessments. Part B also apportioned among the developed countries an additional $3,315,000, or 25 percent of the $13,260,000 already apportioned among them, in order to provide a reserve fund to cover any shortfall. This additional levy on the developed countries brought the total UNEF apportionment to $17,315,000.

The draft resolution was approved by the Fifth Committee on December 12 and adopted by the General Assembly in plenary session on December 16. The plenary vote was 59 (U.S.) to 11 (Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mali, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R.), with 23 abstentions, on Part A; and 56 (U.S.) to 11 (same as on Part A), with 25 abstentions, on Part B.

The U.S. Representatives, speaking in both the Fifth Committee and in plenary, stated that the presence of UNEF had been a vital factor in preserving peace and quiet in the area and that, despite divergent views on financing, no one had ever questioned either the efficiency of or the need for the Force. This fact represented a high tribute to the Secretary-General and his staff, and to the commander, officers, and men of the Force.

The cost of UNEF nevertheless imposed a burden on member governments; consequently, the Secretary-General had been reducing the size and the cost of UNEF without reducing its effectiveness. The United States found the recent cost reductions gratifying and supported the recommendation for a 1967 UNEF budget of $14 million.

The U.S. Representatives explained that the United States voted for the draft resolution subject to congressional appropriation of funds for the U.S. contribution.

The U.S. share of the amount apportioned under the UNEF resolution was $6,384,696.

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U.N. Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)

The U.N. peacekeeping force in Cyprus was established by the Security Council in March 1964 "to prevent a recurrence of fighting" on the island and "to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order." The Security Council has periodically extended the mandate of UNFICYP, and on December 15, 1966, it was again extended until June 26, 1967.

The costs of UNFICYP are met by governments providing troop contingents and by voluntary contributions. The Secretary-General estimated that the cash cost of maintaining the force in 1966 was $19,705,000. This would bring the total cost for the 33 months beginning March 27, 1964, and ending December 26, 1966, to $59,430,000. Voluntary pledges for 1966 came to $17,959,193 bringing the total pledges for the 33-month period to $55,736,852 or $3,693,148 less than total estimated requirements.

The United States pledged cash contributions of $8.0 million toward the 1966 cost of UNFICYP. U.S. pledges for the 33 months total $24.1 million. The United States has also provided air transport services valued at $1,254,107 for the rotation of troops and equipment.

Assessments

UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

The U.S.-percentage shares of the assessment budgets of the United Nations and the specialized agencies are listed below:

	1966	*1967*
	Percent	*Percent*
United Nations	31.91	31.91
Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)	31.91	31.91
International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)	31.28	31.28
International Labor Organization (ILO)	25.00	25.00
Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO)	12.80	12.80
International Telecommunication Union (ITU)	9.87	11.68
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)	30.00	29.94
Universal Postal Union (UPU)	4.29	4.29
World Health Organization (WHO)	31.20	31.20
World Meteorological Organization (WMO)	23.99	23.99

Budgets of the Specialized Agencies

The assessed budgets of the specialized agencies totaled nearly $127 million in 1966 and increased by over $18 million to almost $145 million in 1967.

Specialized agency	*1966*	*1967*	*Difference*
FAO	$23, 830, 000	$23, 830, 000	.....
ICAO	6, 048, 000	5, 559, 000	−$489, 000
ILO	20, 338, 000	22, 472, 000	+2, 134, 000
IMCO	922, 000	827, 000	−95, 000
ITU	4, 727, 000	5, 349, 000	+622, 000
UNESCO	23, 988, 000	30, 100, 000	+6, 112, 000
UPU	1, 134, 000	1, 412, 000	+278, 000
WHO	43, 521, 000	53, 293, 000	+9, 772, 000
WMO	2, 167, 000	2, 141, 000	−26, 000
Total	126, 675, 000	144, 983, 000	+18, 308, 000

The $9.8 million increase for WHO comprises more than half of the total increase of $18.3 million. An approved increase in the U.N. salary system accounts for about $2.0 million of the increase in the WHO budget, other rises in staff costs account for another $1.6 million, and program increases make up the balance, including major new items of $2.4 million to initiate a smallpox eradication program and more than $500,000 to initiate research in epidemiology and health communications.

Of the $6.1 million increase for UNESCO, about $3.0 million results from recosting UNESCO's budgetary requirements at current prices. Other major increases are for building expenses ($1.3 million) and program activities ($1.8 million). In 1967 UNESCO will focus greater attention on programs in the field of educational planning, access of women to education, and assistance to governments in planning science and research activities.

The ILO budget increase of $2.1 million will provide about $600,000 for salary increases as authorized under the U.N. salary system, and $1.5 million for program activities such as the development of human resources and social institutions, including various types of worker-employer organizations.

Other significant increases ($622,000 for ITU and $278,000 for UPU) reflect higher requirements for meetings scheduled to be held during 1967.

Voluntary Programs

A number of major U.N. programs are financed by voluntary contributions from member states rather than by regular assessments on the members. The amount and percentage limitation on U.S. contributions to these programs for calendar year 1966 are as follows:

	Amount (In thousands)	Percent
U.N. Development Program	$65,000	40.00
U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East	[1] 22,550	70.00
U.N. Children's Fund	12,000	40.00
U.N. Technical and Operational Assistance to the Congo	4,700	.....
U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees	650	33.33
U.N. Institute for Training and Research:		
Regular Program	300	40.00
Stevenson Memorial Fellowships	100	.....

[1] Includes both cash and agricultural commodities.

From the time that the Congo gained its independence in 1960 the United Nations has conducted a nation-building program of technical and operational assistance there. In 1966 this assistance was financed by voluntary contributions through a funds-in-trust arrangement and provided specialists in a number of fields, including agriculture, mining, public administration, public works, health, labor, economics, aviation, postal services, transport, and communications. In addition to the funds in trust, other assistance was provided by the UNDP, the specialized agencies, and the Congolese Government itself, which contributed $5.4 million in foreign exchange and local currency as its self-help share of the cost of the U.N. program.

The U.N. Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) is an autonomous institution within the framework of the United Nations, guided by a Board of Trustees responsible for determining its basic policies and its budget. UNITAR has two purposes—training and research. It provides advanced training for personnel of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, and it also trains personnel from the developing countries for service with the United Nations or with their own governments. On the research side UNITAR undertakes and stimulates research and operations analysis on problems arising within the internal structure of the United Nations and specialized agencies and on the substance of issues with which the United Nations deals.

During 1966 UNITAR operated three training programs transferred from the United Nations: development financing, techniques and procedures of technical assistance, and a general program for foreign service officers from newly independent countries. In addition it started a group training program for UNDP deputy resident representatives and a seminar on major problems of U.N. technical assistance.

UNITAR-sponsored research in progress during the year included, among others, studies on ministates, program and budget analysis, relations between the United Nations and regional associations, measures against racial discrimination, transfer of technology from developed to underdeveloped areas, and the "brain drain" from the viewpoint of assisting less developed countries retain needed skills.

The Adlai E. Stevenson Fellowships were established in memory of the former U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations. They are designed to improve the competence for public service of a select group of young men and women. Nine fellowships were awarded in 1966 to individuals from Argentina, Bolivia, Italy, Kuwait, Liberia, Tanzania, Thailand, the United States, and Yugoslavia.

Personnel

The United Nations and its specialized agencies follow the same general employment principles: to secure the best qualified persons available and to recruit them on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

The question of the "geographical distribution" of professional staff is formally dealt with in the U.N. Secretariat through a system of "desirable ranges," that is, a minimum and maximum number of professional staff for each member state based upon its financial assessments, the fact of membership, an allowance for population for members with low per capita income, and the need for a balanced regional composition of staff at the top levels.

The same considerations, except for the population factor, generally apply to the geographical distribution policies of most of the specialized agencies. The United States, with 323 professional staff members in the U.N. Secretariat on December 31, 1966, was well below the ceiling of its "desirable range," 263–409, although it did provide the largest number of employees of any member state.

The General Assembly adopted two significant resolutions on personnel matters at its 21st session. The first of these called on the Secretary-General, as a temporary measure, to increase recruitment on the basis of fixed-term, rather than permanent, contracts especially in cases involving nationals of developing countries; to give preference to candidates from inadequately represented countries; and to take into account the level of positions as well as the number of positions in determining the desirable ranges of positions for individual countries. The resolution was adopted unanimously on December 20.

The second resolution requested the Secretary-General to study and report on methods that should be used to insure "more equitable" use of the working languages of the Organization and a better balance among those languages in recruitment of staff. This resolution was adopted December 20 by a vote of 102 to 0, with 8 abstentions.

The United States voted in favor of both resolutions. In explaining these votes, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador George Killion, said that the fundamental policy of the United States is: (1) to affirm the Secretary-General's independent prerogative in regard to the recruitment of his staff, and (2) to refrain from complicating his task by seeking to introduce restrictions on his right to secure the services of competent, efficient personnel of the highest integrity whenever and on whatever terms he sees fit. The U.S. Representative expressed doubt about the actual need for the resolutions but was nevertheless prepared to support them.

Appendixes

The United Nations

The General Assembly

The General Assembly is the only principal organ of the United Nations on which all 122 members are represented. These are listed below:

Afghanistan
Albania
Algeria
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Barbados
Belgium
Bolivia
Botswana
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burma
Burundi
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Cambodia
Cameroon
Canada
Central African Republic
Ceylon
Chad
Chile
China
Colombia
Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo (Kinshasa)
Costa Rica
Cuba
Cyprus
Czechoslovakia
Dahomey
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Gabon
Gambia
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Guinea
Guyana
Haiti
Honduras
Hungary
Iceland
India
Indonesia [1]
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Jamaica
Japan
Jordan
Kenya
Kuwait
Laos
Lebanon
Lesotho
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic
Malawi
Malaysia
Maldive Islands
Mali
Malta
Mauritania
Mexico
Mongolia
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Romania
Rwanda
Saudi Arabia
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Singapore
Somalia
South Africa
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Syrian Arab Republic
Tanzania
Thailand
Togo
Trinidad and Tobago
Tunisia
Turkey
Uganda
Ukrainian S.S.R.
U.S.S.R.
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
United States
Upper Volta
Uruguay
Venezuela
Yemen
Yugoslavia
Zambia

[1] Indonesia resumed active participation in the United Nations on Sept. 28, 1966.

The 21st regular session of the General Assembly convened on September 20, 1966, and adjourned on December 20, 1966. The 21st General Assembly elected Abdul Rahman Pazhwak (Afghanistan) President and the chiefs of delegation of Austria, Bolivia, China, Congo (Kinshasa), Costa Rica, Cyprus, France, Gabon, Greece, Hungary, Iraq, Rwanda, Senegal, Trinidad and Tobago, U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States as the 17 Vice Presidents.

The chairmen of the seven main committees were Leopoldo Benites (Ecuador), Political and Security; Max Jakobson (Finland), Special Political; Moraiwid M. Tell (Jordan), Economic and Financial; Mrs. Halima Warzazi (Morocco), Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural; Fakhreddine Mohamed (Sudan), Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories; Vahap Asiroglu (Turkey), Administrative and Budgetary; and Vratislav Pechota (Czechoslovakia), Legal.

STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

There are two standing committees of the General Assembly. Each consists of experts appointed in their individual capacities for a 3-year term.

Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions

This Committee examines the budgets of the United Nations and the specialized agencies and advises the Administrative and Budgetary Committee of the General Assembly. As of December 31, 1966, the 12 members were Jan P. Bannier (Netherlands), Abdou Ciss (Senegal), Paulo Lopez Corrêa (Brazil), André Ganem (France), Pedro Olarte (Colombia), John I. M. Rhodes (U.K.), Mohamed Riad (U.A.R.), E. Olu Sanu (Nigeria), Dragos Serbanescu (Romania), Shilendra K. Singh (India), V. F. Ulanchev (U.S.S.R.), and Wilbur H. Ziehl (U.S.).

Committee on Contributions

This Committee advises the General Assembly concerning the apportionment of expenses of the United Nations among member states. As of December 31, 1966, the 10 members were Syed Amjad Ali (Pakistan), Raymond T. Bowman (U.S.), Jorge Pablo Fernandini (Peru), Louis-Denis Hudon (Canada), F. Nouredin Kia (Iran), David Silveira da Mota (Brazil), Evgeny Nikolaevich Makeev (U.S.S.R.), Stanislaw Raczkowski (Poland), John I. M. Rhodes (U.K.), and Maurice Viaud (France).

SUBSIDIARY AND AD HOC BODIES OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

U.N. Scientific Advisory Committee (UNSAC)

The General Assembly at its 9th session (1954) established an Advisory Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy to assist the Secretary-General in preparing for the first international conference on this subject held in Geneva in 1955. By direction of the 10th General Assembly the Committee performed the same function with respect to the second

such conference held in Geneva in 1958. At its 13th session (1958), the General Assembly decided that the Committee, under its present name *United Nations Scientific Advisory Committee,* should continue in existence "To advise and assist the Secretary-General on all matters relating to the peaceful uses of atomic energy with which the United Nations might be concerned."

The Committee has seven members—Brazil, Canada, France, India, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States.

U.N. Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR)

At its 10th session (1955) the General Assembly established the U.N. Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR) to study and report on ionizing radiation and its effects upon man and his environment. The Committee has 15 members—Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Japan, Mexico, Sweden, the U.S.S.R., the United Arab Republic, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space

The General Assembly at its 14th session in 1959 established the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space to carry forward the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space created the year before. The Committee consisted of 24 member states. In 1961 the 16th General Assembly expanded the membership to 28 states. The Committee considers matters pertaining to international space cooperation and presents reports with recommendations to the General Assembly. In 1962 the Committee established a Scientific and Technical Subcommittee and a Legal Subcommittee.

In 1966 the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee met in Geneva from April 18 through 27; the Legal Subcommittee met in Geneva from July 12 through August 4 and in New York from September 12 through 16. A Working Group of the Whole, established to examine the desirability, organization, and objectives of an international space conference, met in New York from January 18 through 25 and September 6 through 9. The full Committee met in New York on September 19.

The membership of the Committee is as follows:

Albania	Italy
Argentina	Japan
Australia	Lebanon
Austria	Mexico
Belgium	Mongolia
Brazil	Morocco
Bulgaria	Poland
Canada	Romania
Chad	Sierra Leone
Czechoslovakia	Sweden
France	U.S.S.R.
Hungary	United Arab Republic
India	United Kingdom
Iran	United States

The Special Committee on the Situation With Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Committee of 24)

The General Assembly at its 16th session (1961) established a Special Committee of 17 members "to examine the application of the Declaration [on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples], to make suggestions and recommendations on the progress and extent of the implementation of the Declaration, and to report to the General Assembly at its seventeenth session." The 17th General Assembly (1962) enlarged the Committee by 7 new members and invited it "to continue to seek the most suitable ways and means for the speedy and total application of the Declaration to all territories which have not yet attained independence. . . ." The 21st General Assembly (1966) continued the Special Committee.

Members of the Special Committee

Afghanistan
Australia
Bulgaria
Chile
Denmark [1]
Ethiopia
Finland [2]
India
Iran
Iraq
Italy
Ivory Coast
Malagasy Republic
Mali
Poland
Sierra Leone
Syria
Tanzania
Tunisia
U.S.S.R.
United Kingdom
United States
Uruguay
Venezuela
Yugoslavia

[1] Resigned Dec. 1966.
[2] Appointed Dec. 1966.

Trade and Development Board of the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)

The establishment of the Trade and Development Board as a continuing organ of the Conference, held in Geneva in 1964, was proposed in Annex A.V.I. of the Final Act of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and was adopted on December 30, 1964.

The Trade and Development Board consists of 55 members to be elected at each regular session of the Conference.

Members of the Board

Afghanistan
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Bulgaria
Cameroon
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
Congo (Kinshasa)
Czechoslovakia
Dahomey
Denmark
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Guinea
Honduras
Hungary
India
Indonesia [1]
Iran
Iraq

Italy
Japan
Lebanon
Malagasy Republic
Mali
Mexico
Morocco
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Philippines
Poland
Romania
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
Tanzania
Turkey
U.S.S.R.
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
United States
Uruguay
Yugoslavia

[1] Indonesia had been elected a member of the Board but the seat was not occupied until August 1966.

Industrial Development Board of the U.N. Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)

By Resolution 2152, the General Assembly at its 21st session established UNIDO (as of January 1, 1967) as an organ of the General Assembly, to function as an autonomous organization within the United Nations.

The Industrial Development Board was established as the principal organ of the Organization, and consists of 45 members elected by the General Assembly for 3-year terms from among states members of the United Nations, members of the specialized agencies, and members of the International Atomic Energy Agency. In electing the members of the Board, the General Assembly shall have due regard to the principle of equitable geographical representation and shall accordingly observe the following distribution of seats: 18 from *Group A* (African and Asian developing states, plus Yugoslavia); 15 from *Group B* (Western European and other developed states); 7 from *Group C* (Latin American states); and 5 from *Group D* (Eastern European states).

The General Assembly elected the following member states to take office January 1, 1967, and decided by lot the terms of office indicated.

Term expires Dec. 31, 1967	Term expires Dec. 31, 1968	Term expires Dec. 31, 1969
Austria	Brazil	Argentina
Belgium	Chile	Bulgaria
Czechoslovakia	Cuba [1]	Cameroon
Guinea	Finland	Canada
Indonesia	France	Colombia
Italy	India	Germany, Federal Republic of
Nigeria	Japan	Ghana
Peru	Jordan	Iran
Rwanda	Kuwait	Ivory Coast
Somalia	Netherlands	Pakistan
Sweden	Romania	Philippines
Switzerland	Sudan	Spain
Trinidad and Tobago	Thailand	Turkey
U.S.S.R.	United Arab Republic	United Kingdom
Zambia	United States	Uruguay

[1] "On this particular occasion and in this particular case" the Assembly approved Cuba's being included among those states listed in Group D.

U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

High Commissioner for Refugees:
Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, Iran
1966 Chairman:
S. Azimi, Iran

General Assembly Resolution 1166 (XII) authorized, and Economic and Social Council Resolution 672 (XXV) established, an Executive Committee of the Program of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Economic and Social Council Resolution 965 B (XXXVI) reconfirmed the existing 25 members of the Committee and recommended that the General Assembly enlarge the Committee by 5 additional members. General Assembly Resolution 1958 (XVIII) endorsed this recommendation.

The Executive Committee held its 15th and 16th sessions at Geneva from May 16 to 24, 1966, and from October 31 to November 8, 1966.

Members of the Executive Committee

Algeria
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Brazil
Canada
China
Colombia
Denmark
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Greece
Holy See
Iran
Israel
Italy
Lebanon
Malagasy Republic
Netherlands
Nigeria
Norway
Sweden
Switzerland
Tanzania
Tunisia
Turkey
United Kingdom
United States
Venezuela
Yugoslavia

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

Executive Board

1966 Chairman: Dr. Joseph Willard, Canada

Term expires July 31, 1967 [1]	Term expires July 31, 1968	Term expires July 31, 1969
Afghanistan	Belgium	Australia
Brazil	Canada	Bulgaria
China	Chile	Ethiopia
France	Ecuador	Peru
Poland	Germany, Federal Republic of	Philippines
Thailand	India	Senegal
Tunisia	Israel	Sweden
U.S.S.R.	Morocco	Switzerland
United Arab Republic	Pakistan	Turkey
United States	Yugoslavia	United Kingdom

[1] The Economic and Social Council agreed to a UNICEF Executive Board request that the terms of membership begin Aug. 1 and end July 31 of each year.

The Executive Board of the UNICEF met at Addis Ababa, May 9–27, 1966.

U.N. Staff Pension Committee

As of December 31, 1966, the U.N. Staff Pension Committee was composed of three members elected by the General Assembly, two members [1] appointed by the Secretary-General, and three members elected by the participants. The members elected by the General Assembly are José Espinoza (Chile), John I. M. Rhodes (U.K.), and Wilbur H. Ziehl (U.S.). The alternates elected by the General Assembly are Brian J. Lynch (New Zealand), Jean-Claude Renaud (France), and Shilendra K. Singh (India). Members appointed by the Secretary-General are Bruce Turner (New Zealand) and David Vaughan (U.S.). Members elected by the participants are Alfred Landau (U.S.), Marc Schreiber (Belgium), and Mrs. Patricia K. Tsien (China). This Committee is similar in structure to that of the staff pension committees of the other organizations participating in the U.N. Joint Staff Pension Fund—the specialized agencies and the IAEA. It appoints 6 of the 21 members of the Joint Staff Pension Board and, in respect of U.N. employees, administers the powers delegated by the Board relating to admission of participants and granting of benefits.

Investments Committee

This Committee advises the Secretary-General concerning the investments of the assets of the Pension Fund and other funds as appropriate. As of December 31, 1966, it was composed of Eugene Black (U.S.), Roger de Candolle (Switzerland), R. McAllister Lloyd (U.S.), George A. Murphy (U.S.), B. K. Nehru (India), and Jacques Rueff (France).

Board of Auditors

This Board audits the accounts of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, and such of the specialized agencies as may request its services. As of December 31, 1966, it was composed of three members, as follows: The First President of the Audit Office of Belgium, the Auditor General of Colombia, and the Auditor General of Pakistan.

U.N. Administrative Tribunal

This body, composed of seven members, hears and passes judgment upon applications alleging nonobservance of contracts of employment or terms of appointment of staff members of the Secretariat of the United Nations. As of December 31, 1966, the seven members, only three of whom sit in a particular case, were Mme. Paul Bastid (France), Lord Crook (U.K.), Héctor Gros Espiell (Uruguay), Louis Ignacio-Pinto (Dahomey), Francis T. P. Plimpton (U.S.), Zenon Rossides (Cyprus), and R. Venkataraman (India).

[1] One vacancy existed.

International Law Commission

Chairman: Milan Bartoš (17th session)
Mustafa Kamil Yasseen (18th session)

Roberto Ago	Italy
Gilberto Amado	Brazil
Milan Bartos	Yugoslavia
Mohammed Bedjaoui	Algeria
Herbert W. Briggs	United States
Marcel Cadieux	Canada
Erik Castrén	Finland
Abdullah El-Erian	United Arab Republic
Taslim O. Elias	Nigeria
Eduardo Jiménez de Aréchaga	Uruguay
Manfred Lachs	Poland
Liu Chieh	China
Antonio De Luna	Spain
Radhabinod Pal	India
Angel M. Paredes	Ecuador
Obed Pessou	Senegal
Paul Reuter	France
Shabtai Rosenne	Israel
José Maria Ruda	Argentina
Abdul Hakim Tabibi	Afghanistan
Senjin Tsuruoka	Japan
Grigory I. Tunkin	U.S.S.R.
Alfred Verdross	Austria
Sir Humphrey Waldock	United Kingdom
Mustafa Kamil Yasseen	Iraq

The International Law Commission held the second part of its 17th session in Monaco from January 3 to 28, 1966, and held its 18th session in Geneva from May 4 to July 19, 1966.

The Security Council

The Security Council consists of 15 members of the United Nations, 5 of which—China, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States—have permanent seats. The remaining 10 are elected for 2-year terms by the General Assembly, taking into account article 23 of the U.N. Charter to the effect that "due regard" shall be paid to the contributions of members to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the United Nations and to equitable geographic distribution.

A resolution adopted by the 18th General Assembly provided that the 10 nonpermanent seats should be allocated as follows: 5 to Africa and Asia, 1 to Eastern Europe, 2 to Latin America, and 2 to Western Europe and "other" states. The nonpermanent members are not eligible for immediate reelection.

Members of the Security Council

Permanent members	Nonpermanent members		
	Term expired Dec. 31, 1966	Term expires Dec. 31, 1967	Term expires Dec. 31, 1968
China	Uruguay	Argentina	Brazil
France	Jordan	Bulgaria	Canada
U.S.S.R.	Netherlands	Japan	Denmark
United Kingdom	New Zealand	Mali	Ethiopia
United States	Uganda	Nigeria	India

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)

The Economic and Social Council is composed of 27 member states, 9 countries being elected each year by the General Assembly to serve for a period of 3 years.

There were two regular sessions of the Council in 1966. The 40th session was convened at headquarters in New York from February 23 to March 8. The 41st session was convened at the European headquarters of the United Nations in Geneva on July 5 and recessed on August 5. The resumed part of the 41st session of ECOSOC met in New York November 15–18 and December 19–21.

The Council elected Tewfik Bouattoura (Algeria) President and Costin Murgescu (Romania) and Jorge Pablo Fernandini (Peru) First and Second Vice Presidents, respectively, for 1966.

Members of the Economic and Social Council

Term expired Dec. 31, 1966	Term expires Dec. 31, 1967	Term expires Dec. 31, 1968	Term expires Dec. 31, 1969
Algeria	Cameroon [1]	Czechoslovakia	Belgium
Chile	Canada	Iran [1]	France
Ecuador	Dahomey [1]	Morocco [1]	Guatemala
France	Gabon	Panama	Kuwait
Greece [1]	India [1]	Philippines	Libya
Iraq	Pakistan	Sweden	Mexico
Luxembourg	Peru	U.S.S.R.	Sierra Leone
Sierra Leone [1]	Romania	United Kingdom	Tanzania
Tanzania [1]	United States	Venezuela [1]	Turkey

[1] Countries elected during the 20th General Assembly to the enlarged ECOSOC and chosen by lot to serve 1-, 2-, or 3-year terms.

Governing Council of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP)

The Governing Council was created by General Assembly Resolution 2029 (XX) by the merger of the former Governing Council of the Special Fund and the Technical Assistance Committee of the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance into a single body of 37 member states. It was decided that 19 of the seats should be filled by the developing countries and 17 by the economically more developed, subject to the following conditions:

Of the 19 seats, 7 are for African states, 6 for Asian states, and 6 for Latin American states. An understanding was reached that Yugoslavia would be accommodated among the developing countries.

Of the 17 seats, 14 are for Western European and other states, and 3 for Eastern European states.

The 37th seat will rotate among the groups in accordance with a 9-year cycle as follows: *First and second years*—Western Europe and others; *Third, fourth, and fifth years*—Eastern Europe; *Sixth year*—Africa; *Seventh year*—Asia; *Eighth year*—Latin America; *Ninth year*—Western Europe and others.

The resumed part of the 39th ECOSOC, December 1965, elected the following countries and decided by lot the terms of office.

1966 Chairman: Mario Franzi, Italy

Term expired Dec. 31, 1966	Term expires Dec. 31, 1967	Term expires Dec. 31, 1968
Brazil	Algeria	Bulgaria
Italy	Australia	Congo (Kinshasa)
Japan	Belgium	Denmark
Malaysia	Burma	Germany, Federal Republic of
Nepal	Canada	Iraq
Norway	Ceylon	Jamaica
Paraguay	France	Jordan [1]
Rwanda	Kenya	Liberia
Senegal	Poland	Netherlands
United Kingdom	Sweden	Peru
U.S.S.R.	Turkey	Switzerland
United States	Venezuela	Tunisia
	Yugoslavia	

[1] Jordan resigned as of Dec. 31, 1966, and Chile was elected to fulfill Jordan's term.

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to serve for the period January 1, 1967, through December 31, 1969:

Brazil	Japan	Thailand
Cameroon	Norway	U.S.S.R.
India	Paraguay	United Kingdom
Italy	Senegal	United States

The Governing Council of the UNDP held its first meeting at New York, January 10–26, 1966, and its second meeting at Milan, Italy, June 8–24, 1966. An ad hoc meeting was convened at New York on November 28, 1966.

Committee for Industrial Development (CID)

The Economic and Social Council at its 29th session established a standing committee, Committee for Industrial Development. The Committee advises ECOSOC in matters related to the acceleration by less industrialized countries of their industrial development. The Committee was originally composed of all members of ECOSOC together with an additional 12 members elected from among states members of the United Nations or members of the specialized agencies.

In December 1965 ECOSOC decided not to elect new members to the Committee for 1966 but to increase membership on the Committee from 30 to 32—the 27 members of ECOSOC for 1966 plus the 5 additional members of the Committee whose terms of office did not expire on December 31, 1965, and which were not members of ECOSOC: Germany, Kuwait, Mexico, Poland, and Turkey. At the resumed part of the 41st ECOSOC, December 21, 1966, ECOSOC decided (Resolution 1194 (XLI)) to discontinue the CID, since the General Assembly had established the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (Resolution 2152 (XXI)).

The Committee held its sixth meeting from April 26 to May 13, 1966, at New York. The 1966 Chairman was Drahoš Schejbal of Czechoslovakia.

Committee on Housing, Building and Planning

The Economic and Social Council at its 34th session established a Committee on Housing, Building and Planning. The Committee is to make recommendations on such matters dealing with housing and related community facilities, and physical planning, as: financing of home construction and ownership, provision of land for homes and community facilities at reasonable costs, designs suitable for low-cost housing in different climates and cultures, improved building materials and their better use, and ways of promoting acceptance and adoption of efficient organizational and building techniques.

At its 41st session ECOSOC enlarged the Committee to 27 members, with the distribution as follows: 7 African states, 5 Asian states, 5 Latin American states, 7 Western European and other states, and 3 states from socialist states of Eastern Europe.

The membership of the Committee is as follows:

1966 Chairman: Alexandru Budisteanu, Romania

Term expired Dec. 31, 1966	Term expires Dec. 31, 1967	Term expires Dec. 31, 1968
Canada	France	Colombia
Chile	Ghana	Czechoslovakia
Denmark	Italy	Gabon
Pakistan	Lebanon	India
Peru	Panama [1]	Japan
U.S.S.R.	Romania	Sudan [1]
United Kingdom	United Arab Republic	Tunisia [1]
	United Kingdom [1]	Turkey
	Uruguay	United States

See footnote on page 292.

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In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate representatives to serve for the period January 1, 1967, through December 31, 1969: [1]

Canada	Poland	Thailand
Denmark	Sierra Leone	Togo
Peru	Singapore	Venezuela

The Committee held its fourth session at Geneva from September 5 to 16, 1966. Beginning January 1, 1968, the Committee will meet biennially.

[1] Chosen by lot at the resumed part of the 41st session to serve the term of office indicated.

ECOSOC Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development

By Resolution 980A(XXXVI) of August 1, 1963, ECOSOC provided for the creation of an Advisory Committee, to be composed of individuals appointed by it on the nomination of the U.N. Secretary-General, to review and recommend measures for the practical application of science and technology for the benefit of the less developed areas of the world. The Committee, as formally constituted by ECOSOC during its resumed 36th session which convened December 1963, consists of the following 18 members: [1]

1966 Chairman: Dr. M. S. Thacker, India

Svend Aage Andersen	Denmark
Pierre Victor Auger	France
Mamadou Aw	Mali
Nicolae Cernescu	Romania
Carlos Chagas	Brazil
Josef Charvát	Czechoslovakia
Abba Eban [2]	Israel
Francisco Garcia Olano	Argentina
Jermen Mikhailovich Gvishiani	U.S.S.R.
Salah El-Din Hedayat	United Arab Republic
Kankuro Kaneshige	Japan
Eni Njoku	Nigeria
Oliverio Phillips Michelsen	Colombia
Abdus Salam	Pakistan
Maneklal Sankalchand Thacker	India
Sir Ronald Walker	Australia
Carroll L. Wilson	United States
Sir Norman Wright	United Kingdom

The Committee held its fifth session at New York from March 22 to April 4, 1966, and its sixth session at FAO Headquarters, Rome, from October 17 to 28, 1966.

[1] These same members were renominated by the Secretary-General for a term ending Dec. 31, 1969. The ECOSOC confirmed the reappointments at the 41st session.
[2] Replaced in Dec. 1966 by Alexander Keynan (Israel).

U.N./FAO Intergovernmental Committee

By a resolution of the 11th session of the FAO Conference and U.N. General Assembly Resolution 1714 (XVI) in 1962, there was established a World Food Program to facilitate the best possible use of food surpluses for the economic development of the less developed countries and to make recommendations on procedures and arrangements for the multilateral utilization of surplus food. There was also established by these two resolutions a United Nations/FAO Intergovernmental Committee of 20 states members of the United Nations and members of the FAO to provide guidance on policy, administration, and operations of a joint administrative unit. Ten members were to be elected by the U.N. Economic and Social Council and 10 by the FAO Council.

At the request of the FAO Council, the 12th session of the FAO Conference, November 1963, and General Assembly Resolution 1914 (XVIII), December 1963, enlarged the Committee to 24 members, 12 to be elected by the FAO and 12 to be elected by the United Nations.

The U.N. General Assembly at its 20th session and the FAO Conference at its 13th session decided to place the World Food Program on a continuing basis "for as long as multilateral food aid is found feasible and desirable . . . ."

The following countries were elected by the United Nations and the FAO:

Countries elected by FAO		
Term expires Dec. 31, 1967	Term expires Dec. 31, 1968	Term expires Dec. 31, 1969
Ceylon	Argentina	Colombia
France	Canada	Korea
Germany, Federal Republic of	India	Netherlands
New Zealand	United States	Nigeria
Countries elected by ECOSOC		
Term expires Dec. 31, 1967	Term expires Dec. 31, 1968	Term expires Dec. 31, 1969
Australia	Brazil	Ireland
Mexico	Denmark	Pakistan
Peru	Ghana	Sweden
United Kingdom	Turkey	United Arab Republic

The Intergovernmental Committee held its 9th and 10th sessions at Rome from April 18 to 26, 1966, and from October 31 to November 12, 1966, respectively.

Committee for Development Planning

The Committee is composed of experts appointed by the Economic and Social Council on the nomination of the Secretary-General. The purpose of the Committee is to make the experience of its members in development planning available to the United Nations for use in formulation and execution of development plans. At the resumed part of the 39th session the Council approved the appointment of the following members for 3-year terms ending December 31, 1968:

Roque Carranza	Argentina
Gamini Corea	Ceylon
Nazif Deif	United Arab Republic
A. N. Efimou	U.S.S.R.
K. S. Krishnaswamy	India
Max F. Millikan	United States
P. N. C. Okigko	Nigeria
Saburo Okita	Japan
Joséf Pajestka	Poland
M. L. Qureshi	Pakistan
W. B. Reddaway	United Kingdom
Jean Ripart	France
Raúl Sáez	Chile
Germanico Salgado	Ecuador
Jakov Sirotković	Yugoslavia
Jan Tinbergen	Netherlands
Zdeněk Vergner	Czechoslovakia
Mohamed Diawara	Ivory Coast

Committee for Program and Coordination

By Resolution 1177 (XLI), the Economic and Social Council established the Committee for Program and Coordination to undertake a general examination of the U.N. work program in the economic, social, and human rights fields, and to deal with coordination of the activities of the specialized agencies and the IAEA and those of the United Nations and to make recommendation to the Council.

At the resumed part of the 41st session, the Economic and Social Council elected the following 16 countries [1] for a term of office from January 1, 1967, through December 31, 1969.

Algeria	Ghana	Tanzania
Brazil	India	U.S.S.R.
Cameroon	Pakistan	United Kingdom
Canada	Philippines	United States
Ecuador	Romania	Venezuela
France		

[1] The General Assembly by Resolution 2188 (XXI) requested that the Committee be enlarged by the addition of 5 members, to be appointed by the President of the Assembly for a term not to exceed 3 years, to undertake in addition a general review of the technical cooperation activities of the entire U.N. system. The President appointed the following countries: Czechoslovakia, Jordan, Malta, Trinidad and Tobago, United Arab Republic.

Commission on Human Rights [1]

1966 Chairman: Fernando Volio Jiménez, Costa Rica

Term expired Dec. 31, 1966	Term expires Dec. 31, 1967	Term expires Dec. 31, 1968
Austria	Austria [2]	Argentina
Costa Rica	Costa Rica [2]	Chile
Dahomey	France	Dahomey [2]
Italy	India	Iran [2]
Netherlands	Iraq	New Zealand
Poland	Israel	Senegal
United Kingdom	Jamaica	Sweden
	Philippines	Ukrainian S.S.R.
	Somalia [2]	United Arab Republic [2]
	Tanzania [2]	United States
	U.S.S.R.	Yugoslavia [2]

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate representatives (subject to confirmation by the Council) to serve for the period January 1, 1967, through December 31, 1969: [2]

Congo (Kinshasa)	Morocco	Peru
Greece	Nigeria	Poland
Guatemala	Pakistan	United Kingdom
Italy		

The Commission held its 22d session at New York from March 8 to April 5, 1966.

[1] The Commission was enlarged to 32 members by the 41st ECOSOC. The geographic distribution was decided as follows: 8 African states, 6 Asian states, 6 Latin American states, 8 Western European and other states, and 4 socialist states of Eastern Europe.

[2] Chosen by lot at the resumed part of the 41st session for the terms indicated.

Commission on Narcotic Drugs [1]

1966 Chairman: Mrs. V. V. Vasilieva, U.S.S.R.

Term expired Dec. 31, 1966	Term expires Dec. 31, 1967	Term expires Dec. 31, 1968
China	Argentina	Germany
Ghana	Canada	Hungary
India	France	India [2]
Japan	Ghana [2]	Iran
Turkey	Peru	Mexico
U.S.S.R.	Switzerland	Nigeria
United Kingdom	United States	Korea
	Yugoslavia	United Arab Republic

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to be members for the period January 1, 1967, through December 31, 1969:

Brazil	Japan	U.S.S.R.
China	Morocco	United Kingdom
Jamaica	Turkey	

The Commission held its 21st session at Geneva from December 5 to 21, 1966. Beginning in 1968 the Commission will meet biennially.

[1] The Commission was enlarged to 24 members by the 41st session of ECOSOC.
[2] Chosen by lot at the resumed part of the 41st session for the terms indicated.

Population Commission [1]

1965 Chairman: W. D. Borrie, Australia

Term expires Dec. 31, 1967 [2]	Term expires Dec. 31, 1968	Term expires Dec. 31, 1969
China	Australia	Cameroon
France	Austria	Ecuador [3]
Ghana	Chile [3]	Japan
Jamaica [3]	India	Peru
Niger [3]	Malawi [3]	Philippines [3]
Pakistan [3]	Netherlands	Rwanda [3]
Sweden	Nigeria [3]	U.S.S.R.
Tunisia	Panama	United Kingdom
Ukrainian S. S. R.	Yugoslavia	United States

The Commission held its 13th session at New York from March 23 to April 5, 1965. It did not meet in 1966.

[1] At the 41st ECOSOC the Commission was enlarged to 27 members. The geographic distribution was decided as follows: 7 African states, 5 Asian states, 7 Western European and other states, 5 Latin American states, and 3 socialist states of Eastern Europe.
[2] Countries elected to Commissions which meet biennially serve 4-year terms.
[3] Chosen by lot at the resumed part of the 41st session to serve the term indicated.

Social Development Commission [1]

1966 Chairman: Mohamed Ennaceur, Tunisia

Term expired Dec. 31, 1966	Term expires Dec. 31, 1967	Term expires Dec. 31, 1968
Argentina	Bulgaria	Byelorussian S.S.R.[2]
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Cuba	China
Czechoslovakia	Cyprus [2]	France
Denmark	Honduras	Israel
Mauritania	Iran [2]	Netherlands
United Kingdom	Mali	Peru [2]
Uruguay	Spain [2]	Tanzania [2]
	Tunisia	U.S.S.R.
	Uganda	United States
	United Arab Republic	Upper Volta
	United Kingdom [2]	Venezuela [2]

In addition the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate representatives (subject to confirmation by the Council) to serve for the period January 1, 1967, through December 31, 1969:[2]

Canada	Mauritania	Pakistan
Chile	Morocco	Philippines
Czechoslovakia	Norway	Uruguay
Greece		

The Commission held its 17th session at New York from April 19 to May 4, 1966.

[1] At the 41st ECOSOC the name was changed from "Social Commission" to "Social Development Commission," and it was enlarged to 32 members. The geographic distribution was decided as follows: 8 African states, 6 Asian states, 6 Latin American states, 8 Western European and other states, and 4 socialist states of Eastern Europe.

[2] Chosen by lot at the resumed part of the 41st session to serve the term indicated.

Statistical Commission [1]

1965 Chairman: Petter Jakob Bjerve, Norway

Term expires Dec. 31, 1967 [2]	Term expires Dec 31, 1968	Term expires Dec. 31, 1969
Australia	France	Belgium
Brazil	Hungary	Canada
China	Mali [3]	Ecuador [3]
Czechoslovakia [3]	Norway	Japan
Ghana [3]	Pakistan [3]	Morocco
India	Panama	Tunisia [3]
Ukrainian S.S.R.	United Kingdom	U.S.S.R.
United Arab Republic	Uruguay	United States

The Commission held its 13th session at New York from April 20 to May 7, 1965. It did not meet in 1966.

[1] At the 41st ECOSOC the Commission was enlarged to 24 members. The geographic distribution was decided as follows: 5 African states, 4 Asian states, 4 Latin American states, 7 Western European and other states, and 4 socialist states of Eastern Europe.

[2] Countries elected to Commissions which meet biennially serve 4-year terms.

[3] Chosen by lot at the resumed part of the 41st session for the term indicated.

Commission on the Status of Women [1]

1966 Chairman: Miss Helen Benitez, Philippines

Term expired Dec. 31, 1966	Term expires Dec. 31, 1967	Term expires Dec. 31, 1968
Dominican Republic	Austria	Chile
Guinea	Byelorussian S.S.R.[2]	Finland
Hungary	China	France
Iran	Ghana	Honduras
Nepal	Japan	Liberia
Philippines	Kenya [2]	Malaysia [2]
United Arab Republic	Uganda [2]	Mauritania [2]
	U.S.S.R.	Mexico
	United Kingdom	Philippines [2]
	United States	Poland
	Venezuela [2]	

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate representatives (subject to confirmation by the Council) for the period January 1, 1967, through December 31, 1969: [2]

Australia	Iran	Tunisia
Guatemala	Iraq	Turkey
Guinea	Netherlands	United Arab Republic
Hungary	Peru	

The Commission held its 19th session at Geneva from February 21 to March 11, 1966.

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[1] At the 41st ECOSOC the Commission was enlarged to 32 members. The geographic distribution was decided as follows: 8 African states, 6 Asian states, 6 Latin American states, 8 Western European and other states, and 4 socialist states of Eastern Europe.

[2] Chosen by lot at the resumed part of the 41st session to serve the term indicated.

Economic Commission for Africa (ECA)

Headquarters: Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

1965 Chairman: T. Mboya, Kenya

Algeria
Burundi
Cameroon
Central African Republic
Chad
Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo (Kinshasa)
Dahomey
Ethiopia
Gabon
Gambia
Ghana
Guinea
Ivory Coast
Kenya
Liberia
Libya
Malagasy Republic
Malawi
Mali
Mauritania
Morocco
Niger
Nigeria
Rwanda
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Somalia
South Africa [1]
Sudan
Tanzania
Togo
Tunisia
Uganda
United Arab Republic
Upper Volta
Zambia

According to paragraph 6 of the Commission's terms of reference, Non-Self-Governing Territories in Africa (including African islands), and powers other than Portugal responsible for international relations of those Territories (France, Spain, U.K.), are associate members of the Commission.

The Commission held its 7th session at Nairobi, Kenya, from February 9 to 23, 1965. It did not meet in 1966.

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[1] The Economic and Social Council decided by Resolution 9740 IV (XXXVI) of July 30, 1963, that the Republic of South Africa should not take part in the work of the Commission until the Council, on the recommendation of the Commission, should find that conditions for constructive cooperation had been restored by a change in South Africa's racial policy.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE)

Headquarters: Bangkok, Thailand

1966 Chairman: Manubhai Shah, India

Afghanistan	Iran	Pakistan
Australia	Japan	Philippines
Burma	Korea, Republic of	Singapore
Cambodia	Laos	Thailand
Ceylon	Malaysia	U.S.S.R.
China	Mongolia	United Kingdom
France	Nepal	United States
India	Netherlands	Viet-Nam, Republic of
Indonesia [1]	New Zealand	Western Samoa

Associate Members

Brunei	Hong Kong

The Commission held its 22d session at New Delhi, India, from March 22 to April 4, 1966.

[1] Indonesia withdrew its membership in the Commission on Mar. 31, 1965. It resumed its full cooperation with the United Nations by telegram, Sept. 19, 1966. The General Assembly took note of this on Sept. 28, 1966.

Economic Commission for Europe (ECE)

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland

1966 Chairman: Karoly Szarka, Hungary

Albania	Greece	Portugal
Austria	Hungary	Romania
Belgium	Iceland	Spain
Bulgaria	Ireland	Sweden
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Italy	Turkey
Cyprus	Luxembourg	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Czechoslovakia	Malta	U.S.S.R.
Denmark	Netherlands	United Kingdom
Finland	Norway	United States
France	Poland	Yugoslavia
Germany, Federal Republic of		

Switzerland participates in a consultative capacity.

The Commission held its 21st session at Geneva from April 12 to 29, 1966.

Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA)

Headquarters: Santiago, Chile

1965 Chairman: Octaviano Campos Salas, Mexico

Argentina	Ecuador	Nicaragua
Bolivia	El Salvador	Panama
Brazil	France	Paraguay
Canada	Guatemala	Peru
Chile	Haiti	Trinidad and Tobago
Colombia	Honduras	United Kingdom
Costa Rica	Jamaica	United States
Cuba	Mexico	Uruguay
Dominican Republic	Netherlands	Venezuela

Associate Members

British Guiana [1]	British Honduras or Belize

The Commission held its 11th session at Mexico City, Mexico, from May 6 to 17, 1965. The Committee of the Whole met in Santiago, Chile, May 10–12, 1966.

[1] Became independent as Guyana; became a member of the United Nations and thus a full member of the Commission on Sept. 21, 1966.

The Trusteeship Council

The Trusteeship Council consists of all U.N. members administering trust territories, the permanent members of the Security Council not administering trust territories, and as many other elected U.N. members not administering trust territories as are required to insure that the total number of members of the Council is equally divided between nations that administer trust territories and those that do not. The elected members serve for a term of 3 years.

At the beginning of 1966 the Council comprised 8 members.

Members Administering Trust Territories

Australia	United Kingdom	United States
New Zealand		

Permanent Members of Security Council Not Administering Trust Territories

China	France	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Member Elected by the General Assembly

Liberia (through 1968)

The International Court of Justice (ICJ)

Seat of the Court: The Hague
President: Sir Percy Spender
Registrar: Stanislas Aquarone (Australia)

Members	Country	Term expires
Fouad Ammoun	Lebanon	1967
Sir Gerald Fitzmaurice	United Kingdom	1973
Isaac Forster	Senegal	1973
André Gros	France	1973
P. C. Jessup	United States	1970
Sir M. Zafrulla Khan	Pakistan	1973
V. K. Wellington Koo	China	1967
V. M. Koretsky	U.S.S.R.	1970
G. Morelli	Italy	1970
L. Padilla Nervo	Mexico	1973
J. L. Bustamante y Rivero	Peru	1970
Sir Percy Spender	Australia	1967
J. Spiropoulos	Greece	1967
K. Tanaka	Japan	1970
B. Winiarski	Poland	1967

At the 21st General Assembly Fouad Ammoun (Lebanon), Cesar Bengzon (Philippines), Manfred Lachs (Poland), Charles D. Onyeama (Nigeria), and Sture Petrén (Sweden) were elected for 5-year terms to begin upon the expiration of the terms of Judges Ammoun, Koo, Spender, Spiropoulos, and Winiarski on February 5, 1967.

The Secretariat of the United Nations

The Secretariat under article 7 of the Charter is a principal organ of the United Nations. The Secretary-General, U Thant of Burma, is the chief administrative officer of the Organization. The Secretary-General and his staff provide services for the other principal organs. As of December 31, 1966, there were about 6,600 employees on the staff of the Secretariat. The functions of the Secretary-General and the Secretariat are described in general terms in chapter XV of the Charter.

The Secretariat serves as executive agent for the other U.N. organs such as ECOSOC and the Trusteeship Council. In connection with Security Council affairs, for example, the Secretary-General has played a key role in the Middle Eastern complex of problems, both as the coordinator of U.N. agencies and as negotiator among the parties involved. The Secretariat provides services and expert staffs for the field missions, such as those in Korea and India-Pakistan and for the Trusteeship Council's missions to trust territories. The Secretariat also prepares studies and background material to facilitate the work of the several organs and their subsidiary bodies.

Another important task of the Secretariat is that of servicing meetings of U.N. bodies. This includes making physical arrangements, translating, interpreting, preparing minutes and documentation, publishing official records, and advising chairmen on precedents and parliamentary procedures.

A third responsibility of the Secretariat is the development of arrangements with the specialized agencies for the coordination of programs and administrative and financial practices.

Finally, the Secretariat is responsible for supplying information to the world on the purposes and daily activities of the United Nations.

ORGANIZATION

As of December 31, 1966, the top U.N. Secretariat officials were as follows:

Secretary-General	U Thant (Burma)
Under Secretaries:	
General Assembly Affairs and Chef de Cabinet.	C. V. Narasimhan (India)
Special Political Affairs	Ralph J. Bunche (U.S.)
Special Political Affairs and Officer in Charge, Office of Public Information.	José Rolz-Bennett (Guatemala)
Legal Counsel	C. A. Stavropoulos (Greece)
Controller	Bruce R. Turner (New Zealand)
Director of Personnel	Sir Alexander MacFarquhar (U.K.)
Political and Security Council Affairs	Aleksei E. Nesterenko (U.S.S.R.)
Economic and Social Council Affairs	Philippe M. de Seynes (France)
Commissioner for Technical Cooperation	Victor Hoo (China)
Executive Director, U.N. Industrial Development Organization.	Ibrahim H. Abdel-Rahman (U.A.R.)
Secretary General, U.N. Conference on Trade and Development.	Raúl Prebisch (Argentina)

Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Europe (ECE).	Vladimir Velebit (Yugoslavia)
Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE).	U Nyun (Burma)
Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA).	José Antonio Mayobre (Venezuela)
Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Africa (ECA).	Robert K. A. Gardiner (Ghana)
Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories.	Issoufou Djermakoye (Niger)
Office of Conference Services	Jiri Nosek (Czechoslovakia)
Office of General Services	David B. Vaughan (U.S.)
Director General of the European Office . .	Pier Pasquale Spinelli (Italy)
Director, Training Program for Foreign Service Officers from Newly Independent Countries.	Dragoslav Protitch (Yugoslavia)
Registrar, International Court of Justice . .	M. J. Garnier-Coignet (France)

The following officials of Special U.N. Voluntary Programs have special status and receive the salary and allowances of Under Secretaries:

Administrator, United Nations Development Program.	Paul G. Hoffman (U.S.)
Co-Administrator, United Nations Development Program.	David Owen (U.K.)
Associate Administrator, United Nations Development Program.	Roberto M. Heurtematte (Panama)
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).	Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan (Iran)
Commissioner General, United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA).	Laurence V. Michelmore (U.S.)
Executive Director, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).	Henry R. Labouisse (U.S.)
Executive Director, United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR).	Gabriel D'Arboussier (Senegal)

The Specialized Agencies

FAO FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION

Headquarters: Rome, Italy

Director General: B. R. Sen, India

Afghanistan [1]
Algeria
Argentina [1]
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Botswana
Brazil [1]
Burma
Burundi
Cambodia
Cameroon
Canada [1]
Central African Republic
Ceylon
Chad [1]
Chile
Colombia [1]
Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo (Kinshasa)
Costa Rica [1]
Cuba
Cyprus
Dahomey
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia [1]
Finland [1]
France [1]
Gabon
Gambia
Germany, Federal Republic of [1]
Ghana
Greece [1]
Guatemala
Guinea
Guyana
Haiti
Honduras
Iceland
India [1]
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast [1]
Jamaica
Japan [1]
Jordan [1]
Kenya [1]
Korea, Republic of [1]
Kuwait
Laos
Lebanon
Lesotho
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic
Malawi
Malaysia [1]
Mali
Malta
Mauritania
Mexico
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand [1]
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan [1]
Panama
Paraguay
Peru [1]
Philippines
Poland [1]
Portugal
Romania
Rwanda
Saudi Arabia
Senegal [1]
Sierra Leone
Somalia
Spain
Sudan [1]
Sweden
Switzerland
Syrian Arab Republic
Tanzania
Thailand
Togo
Trinidad and Tobago
Tunisia [1]
Turkey
Uganda [1]
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom [1]
United States [1]
Upper Volta
Uruguay
Venezuela [1]
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yemen
Yugoslavia [1]
Zambia

Associate Member: Mauritius

As of December 31, 1966, FAO had 113 members and 1 associate member.

[1] Member of the Council as of Dec. 31, 1966.

IBRD INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT[1]

Headquarters: Washington, D.C.
President: George D. Woods, United States
Vice President: J. Burke Knapp, United States
Vice President: Mohamed Shoaib, Pakistan

Afghanistan
Algeria
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Burma
Burundi
Cameroon
Canada
Central African Republic
Ceylon
Chad
Chile
China
Colombia
Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo (Kinshasa)
Costa Rica
Cyprus
Dahomey
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Gabon
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Guinea
Guyana
Haiti
Honduras
Iceland
India
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Jamaica
Japan
Jordan
Kenya
Korea, Republic of
Kuwait
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic
Malawi
Malaysia
Mali
Mauritania
Mexico
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Portugal
Rwanda
Saudi Arabia
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Singapore
Somalia
South Africa
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Syrian Arab Republic
Tanzania
Thailand
Togo
Trinidad and Tobago
Tunisia
Turkey
Uganda
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
United States
Upper Volta
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yugoslavia
Zambia

As of December 31, 1966, the IBRD had 105 members.

[1] A state is required to belong to the IMF before it may join the IBRD.

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ICAO INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION

Headquarters: Montreal, Canada

President of Council: Walter Binaghi, Argentina

Secretary General: Bernardus T. Twigt, Netherlands

Afghanistan
Algeria
Argentina [1]
Australia [1]
Austria
Belgium [1]
Bolivia
Brazil [1]
Burma
Cambodia
Cameroon
Canada [1]
Central African Republic
Ceylon
Chad
Chile
China
Colombia [1]
Congo (Brazzaville) [1]
Congo (Kinshasa)
Costa Rica [1]
Cuba
Cyprus
Czechoslovakia [1]
Dahomey
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France [1]
Gabon
Germany, Federal Republic of [1]
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Guinea
Haiti
Honduras
Iceland
India [1]
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy [1]
Ivory Coast
Jamaica
Japan [1]
Jordan
Kenya [1]
Korea, Republic of
Kuwait
Laos
Lebanon [1]
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic [1]
Malawi
Malaysia
Mali
Malta
Mauritania
Mexico [1]
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands [1]
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria [1]
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines [1]
Poland
Portugal
Romania
Rwanda
Saudi Arabia
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Singapore
Somalia
South Africa
Spain [1]
Sudan
Sweden [1]
Switzerland
Syrian Arab Republic
Tanzania
Thailand
Togo
Trinidad and Tobago
Tunisia [1]
Turkey
United Arab Republic [1]
United Kingdom [1]
United States [1]
Upper Volta
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yemen
Yugoslavia
Zambia

As of December 31, 1966, ICAO had 111 members.

[1] Member of ICAO Council.

IDA INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

Headquarters: Washington, D.C.

President: George D. Woods,[1] United States

Afghanistan
Algeria
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Burundi
Burma
Cameroon
Canada
Central African Republic
Ceylon
Chad
Chile
China
Colombia
Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo (Kinshasa)
Costa Rica
Cyprus
Dahomey
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Gabon
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Iceland
India
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Japan
Jordan
Kenya
Korea, Republic of
Kuwait
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic
Malawi
Malaysia
Mali
Mauritania
Mexico
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Rwanda
Saudi Arabia
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Somalia
South Africa
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Syrian Arab Republic
Tanzania
Thailand
Togo
Tunisia
Turkey
Uganda
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
United States
Upper Volta
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yugoslavia
Zambia

As of December 31, 1966, IDA had 96 members.

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[1] In accordance with the IDA articles the President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) is *ex officio* President of IDA. Officers and staff of the Bank have been appointed to serve concurrently as officers and staff of IDA without additional compensation.

IFC INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION

Headquarters: Washington, D.C.

President: George D. Woods,[1] United States

Afghanistan
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Burma
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cyprus
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Iceland
India
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Jamaica
Japan
Jordan
Kenya
Korea, Republic of
Kuwait
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic
Malawi
Malaysia
Mexico
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Portugal
Saudi Arabia
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Somalia
South Africa
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Syrian Arab Republic
Tanzania
Thailand
Togo
Tunisia
Turkey
Uganda
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
United States
Venezuela
Zambia

As of December 31, 1966, IFC had 82 members.

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[1] In accordance with the IFC articles the President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) is *ex officio* President of IFC. Officers and staff of the Bank have been appointed to serve concurrently as officers and staff of IFC without additional compensation.

ILO INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland

Director General: David A. Morse, United States

Afghanistan
Albania [1]
Algeria
Argentina [2]
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Botswana
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burma
Burundi
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Cameroon [2]
Canada [2]
Central African Republic
Ceylon
Chad
Chile [2]
China [2]
Colombia [2]
Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo (Kinshasa)
Costa Rica
Cuba
Cyprus
Czechoslovakia
Dahomey
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia [2]
Finland
France [2]
Gabon
Germany, Federal Republic of [2]
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Guinea
Guyana
Haiti
Honduras
Hungary [2]
Iceland
India [2]
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq [2]
Ireland
Israel
Italy [2]
Ivory Coast
Jamaica
Japan [2]
Jordan
Kenya
Kuwait
Laos
Lebanon
Lesotho
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic
Malawi
Malaysia [2]
Mali
Malta
Mauritania
Mexico
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines [2]
Poland
Portugal
Romania
Rwanda
Senegal [2]
Sierra Leone [2]
Singapore
Somalia
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Switzerland
Syrian Arab Republic
Tanzania
Thailand
Togo
Trinidad and Tobago
Tunisia
Turkey
Uganda
Ukrainian S.S.R.
U.S.S.R.[2]
United Arab Republic [2]
United Kingdom [2]
United States [2]
Upper Volta
Uruguay
Venezuela [2]
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yemen
Yugoslavia [2]
Zambia

As of December 31, 1966, ILO had 118 members.

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[1] Notified the ILO on Aug. 5, 1965, of its decision to withdraw.
[2] Member of Governing Body as of Dec. 31, 1966.

IMCO INTERGOVERNMENTAL MARITIME CONSULTATIVE ORGANIZATION

Headquarters: London, England

Secretary General: Jean Roullier, France

Algeria
Argentina
Australia [1]
Belgium [1]
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burma
Cambodia
Cameroon
Canada [1]
China
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Finland
France [1]
Germany, Federal Republic of [1]
Ghana
Greece [1]
Haiti
Honduras
Iceland
India [1]
Indonesia
Iran
Ireland
Israel
Italy [1]
Ivory Coast
Japan [1]
Korea, Republic of
Kuwait
Lebanon
Liberia
Malagasy Republic [1]
Malta
Mauritania
Mexico
Morocco
Netherlands [1]
New Zealand
Nigeria
Norway [1]
Pakistan
Panama
Philippines
Poland
Romania
Senegal
Singapore
Spain
Sweden [1]
Switzerland
Syrian Arab Republic
Trinidad and Tobago
Tunisia
Turkey
U.S.S.R.[1]
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom [1]
United States [1]
Yugoslavia

As of December 31, 1966, IMCO had 64 members.

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[1] Member of the Council as of Dec. 31, 1966.

IMF INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

Headquarters: Washington, D.C.

Managing Director and Chairman of the Board of Executive Directors: Pierre-Paul Schweitzer, France

Afghanistan
Algeria
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Burma
Burundi
Cameroon
Canada
Central African Republic
Ceylon
Chad
Chile
China
Colombia
Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo (Kinshasa)
Costa Rica
Cyprus
Dahomey
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Gabon
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Guinea
Guyana
Haiti
Honduras
Iceland
India
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Japan
Jamaica
Jordan
Kenya
Korea, Republic of
Kuwait
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic
Malawi
Malaysia
Mali
Mauritania
Mexico
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Portugal
Rwanda
Saudi Arabia
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Singapore
Somalia
South Africa
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Syrian Arab Republic
Tanzania
Thailand
Togo
Trinidad and Tobago
Tunisia
Turkey
Uganda
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
United States
Upper Volta
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yugoslavia
Zambia

As of December 31, 1966, the IMF had 105 members.

ITU INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland
Secretary General: Dr. Manojar B. Sarwate, India

Afghanistan
Albania
Algeria [1]
Argentina [1]
Australia [1]
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil [1]
Bulgaria
Burma
Burundi
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Cambodia
Cameroon
Canada [1]
Central African Republic
Ceylon
Chad
Chile
China [1]
Colombia
Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo (Kinshasa)
Costa Rica
Cuba
Cyprus
Czechoslovakia
Dahomey [1]
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia [1]
Finland
France [1]
Group of Territories represented by French Overseas Post and Telecommunication Agency
Gabon
Germany, Federal Republic of [1]
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Guinea
Haiti
Holy See
Honduras
Hungary
Iceland
India [1]
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland [1]
Israel
Italy [1]
Ivory Coast
Jamaica
Japan [1]
Jordan
Kenya
Korea, Republic of
Kuwait
Laos
Lebanon [1]
Liberia
Libya
Liechtenstein
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic [1]
Malawi
Malaysia
Mali
Malta
Mauritania
Mexico [1]
Monaco
Mongolia
Morocco [1]
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria [1]
Norway
Pakistan [1]
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland [1]
Portugal
Portuguese Oversea Provinces
Romania
Rwanda
Saudi Arabia [1]
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Singapore
Somalia
South Africa and Territory of South-West Africa
Southern Rhodesia
Spain
Spanish Provinces in Africa
Sudan
Sweden
Switzerland [1]
Syrian Arab Republic
Tanzania
Thailand
Togo
Trinidad and Tobago
Tunisia
Turkey
Uganda [1]
Ukrainian S.S.R.
U.S.S.R.[1]
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom [1]
Overseas Territories for which the United Kingdom is responsible
United States [1]
Territories of United States
Upper Volta
Uruguay
Venezuela [1]
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yemen
Yugoslavia [1]
Zambia

As of December 31, 1966, ITU had 129 members.

[1] Member of ITU Administrative Council as of Dec. 31, 1966.

UNESCO UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

Headquarters: Paris, France
Director General: René Maheu, France

Afghanistan
Albania
Algeria
Argentina [1]
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil [1]
Bulgaria
Burma
Burundi
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Cambodia
Cameroon [1]
Canada
Central African Republic
Ceylon
Chad
Chile [1]
China
Colombia
Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo (Kinshasa)
Costa Rica [1]
Cuba
Cyprus
Czechoslovakia
Dahomey
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland [1]
France [1]
Gabon
Germany, Federal Republic of [1]
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Guinea
Haiti
Honduras
Hungary [1]
Iceland
India [1]
Indonesia
Iran [1]
Iraq
Ireland
Israel [1]
Italy [1]
Ivory Coast [1]
Jamaica
Japan [1]
Jordan
Kenya
Korea, Republic of
Kuwait
Laos
Lebanon [1]
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic
Malawi
Malaysia
Mali [1]
Malta
Mauritania
Mexico
Monaco
Mongolia
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands [1]
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria [1]
Norway
Pakistan
Panama [1]
Paraguay
Peru [1]
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Romania [1]
Rwanda
Saudi Arabia
Senegal [1]
Sierra Leone
Singapore
Somalia
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Switzerland [1]
Syrian Arab Republic
Tanzania [1]
Thailand
Togo
Trinidad and Tobago
Tunisia
Turkey
Uganda
Ukrainian S.S.R.
U.S.S.R.[1]
United Arab Republic [1]
United Kingdom [1]
United States [1]
Upper Volta
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yemen
Yugoslavia
Zambia [1]

Associate Members

Mauritius
Qatar
Bahrain
British Eastern Caribbean Group

As of December 31, 1966, UNESCO had 120 members and 4 associate members.

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[1] Member of the Executive Board.

UPU UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION

Headquarters: Bern, Switzerland
Director General: Edouard Weber, Switzerland

Afghanistan
Albania
Algeria
Argentina [1]
Australia
Austria [1]
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Bulgaria [1]
Burma
Burundi
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Cambodia
Cameroon
Canada [1]
Central African Republic
Ceylon
Chad
Chile
China
Colombia
Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo (Kinshasa)
Costa Rica
Cuba
Cyprus
Czechoslovakia
Dahomey
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia [1]
Finland
France [1]
Group of Territories represented by French Overseas Post and Telecommunication Agency
Gabon
Germany, Federal Republic of [1]
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Guinea
Haiti
Holy See
Honduras
Hungary [1]
Iceland
India [1]
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Jamaica
Japan
Jordan
Kenya
Korea, Republic of
Kuwait [1]
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Liechtenstein
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic [1]
Malawi
Malaysia [1]
Mali
Malta
Mexico [1]
Monaco
Mongolia
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands
Netherlands Antilles and Surinam
New Zealand [1]
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria [1]
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru [1]
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Portuguese Provinces in West Africa
Portuguese Provinces in East Africa, Asia, and Oceania
Romania
Rwanda
San Marino
Saudi Arabia
Senegal [1]
Sierra Leone
Singapore
Somalia
South Africa
Spain
Spanish Territories in Africa
Sudan [1]
Sweden [1]
Switzerland
Syrian Arab Republic [1]
Tanzania
Thailand [1]
Togo
Trinidad and Tobago
Tunisia [1]
Turkey [1]
Uganda
Ukrainian S.S.R.
U.S.S.R.[1]
United Arab Republic [1]
United Kingdom [1]
U.K. Overseas Territories for the international relations of which the United Kingdom is responsible
United States [1]
U.S. Overseas Territories, including the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands
Upper Volta
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yemen
Yugoslavia

As of December 31, 1966, UPU had 129 members.

[1] Member of Executive Council as of Dec. 31, 1966.

WHO WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland
Director General: Marcolino G. Candau, Brazil

Afghanistan
Albania
Algeria
Argentina [1]
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burma [1]
Burundi
Byelorussian S.S.R.[2]
Cambodia
Cameroon [1]
Canada
Central African Republic
Ceylon
Chad
Chile
China
Colombia
Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo (Kinshasa)
Costa Rica
Cuba
Cyprus
Czechoslovakia [1]
Dahomey [1]
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France [1]
Gabon
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Guinea [1]
Guyana
Haiti
Honduras
Hungary
Iceland
India [1]
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Jamaica
Japan
Jordan
Kenya
Korea, Republic of
Kuwait [1]
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya [1]
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic
Malawi
Malaysia [1]
Maldive Islands
Mali
Malta
Mauritania
Mexico [1]
Monaco
Mongolia
Morocco [1]
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria [1]
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay [1]
Peru [1]
Philippines [1]
Poland
Portugal
Romania
Rwanda
Samoa, Western
Saudi Arabia
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Singapore
Somalia [1]
South Africa
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Switzerland
Syrian Arab Republic
Tanzania
Thailand
Togo
Trinidad and Tobago
Tunisia
Turkey [1]
Uganda
Ukrainian S.S.R.[2]
U.S.S.R.[1]
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom [1]
United States [1]
Upper Volta
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yemen [1]
Yugoslavia [1]
Zambia

Associate Members

Mauritius
Qatar
Southern Rhodesia

As of December 31, 1966, WHO had 124 full members and 3 associate members.

[1] As of Dec. 31, 1966, the Executive Board was composed of individuals from these member states, serving in their individual capacities, designated by governments elected by the World Health Assembly.
[2] Inactive members.

WMO WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland

Secretary General: D. A. Davies, United Kingdom

Afghanistan
Albania
Algeria
Argentina [1]
Australia [1]
Austria
Belgium [1]
Bolivia
Brazil
British Caribbean Territories
Bulgaria
Burma
Burundi
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Cambodia
Cameroon
Canada
Central African Republic
Ceylon
Chad
Chile
China
Colombia
Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo (Kinshasa)
Costa Rica [1]
Cuba
Cyprus
Czechoslovakia
Dahomey
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador [1]
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France [1]
French Polynesia
French Somaliland
Gabon
Germany, Federal Republic of [1]
Ghana [1]
Greece
Guatemala
Guinea
Guyana
Haiti
Honduras
Hong Kong
Hungary
Iceland
India [1]
Indonesia
Iran [1]
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Jamaica
Japan
Jordan
Kenya
Korea, Republic of
Kuwait
Laos
Lebanon
Libya
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic
Malawi
Malaysia
Mali
Mauritania
Mauritius
Mexico
Mongolia
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands
Netherlands Antilles
New Caledonia [1]
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria [1]
Norway
Pakistan
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Portuguese East Africa
Portuguese West Africa
Romania
Rwanda
Saudi Arabia
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Singapore
Somalia
South Africa
Southern Rhodesia
Spain [1]
Spanish Territories of Guinea
Sudan [1]
Surinam
Sweden [1]
Switzerland
Syrian Arab Republic
Tanzania
Thailand
Togo
Trinidad and Tobago
Tunisia [1]
Turkey
Uganda
Ukrainian S.S.R.
U.S.S.R.[1]
United Arab Republic [1]
United Kingdom [1]
United States [1]
Upper Volta
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yugoslavia [1]
Zambia

As of December 31, 1966, WMO had 129 members.

[1] Individuals from these member states were members of the Executive Committee of the WMO as of Dec. 31, 1966.

Other International Organizations

IAEA INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY

Headquarters: Vienna, Austria

Director General: A. Sigvard Eklund, Sweden

Afghanistan
Albania
Algeria
Argentina [1]
Australia [1]
Austria [1]
Belgium [1]
Bolivia
Brazil [1]
Bulgaria
Burma
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Cambodia
Cameroon
Canada [1]
Ceylon
Chile
China
Colombia [1]
Congo (Kinshasa)
Costa Rica
Cuba
Cyprus
Czechoslovakia
Denmark [1]
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France [1]
Gabon
Germany, Federal Republic of [1]
Ghana [1]
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Holy See
Honduras
Hungary
Iceland
India [1]
Indonesia [1]
Iran
Iraq
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Jamaica
Japan [1]
Jordan
Kenya
Korea, Republic of [1]
Kuwait
Lebanon [1]
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic
Mali
Mexico [1]
Monaco
Morocco
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan [1]
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland [1]
Portugal
Romania
Saudi Arabia
Senegal
South Africa [1]
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Switzerland
Syrian Arab Republic
Thailand
Tunisia [1]
Turkey
Ukrainian S.S.R.
U.S.S.R.[1]
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom [1]
United States [1]
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yugoslavia [1]

As of December 31, 1966, IAEA had 96 members.

[1] Member of IAEA Board of Governors as of Dec. 31, 1966.

United States Representation

United States Missions

U.S. MISSION AT U.N. HEADQUARTERS IN NEW YORK (USUN)

The United States is represented by a permanent mission at the Headquarters of the United Nations in New York. Under the direction of the Representative of the United States to the United Nations, the mission carries out the instructions of the President, transmitted normally by the Secretary of State, in U.N. bodies. It also serves as the channel of communication between the U.S. Government, on the one hand, and the U.N. organs, agencies, and commissions at the Headquarters and the delegations of other nations to the United Nations located in New York, on the other. It is a base of operations for the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly and to other U.N. organs and agencies when they meet in New York.

The structure, organization, and functions of the U.S. mission to the United Nations have been determined in the main by the following factors:

1. The requirements of the U.N. Charter and the resolutions of the organs of the United Nations.
2. The provisions of the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Cong.) as amended by Public Law 341 of the 81st Congress, and Public Law 206 of the 89th Congress.
3. Executive Order 10108.
4. Location of the Headquarters of the United Nations in the United States and the consequent need for the United States to assume the responsibilities of "host government."
5. The fact that the United States, in consequence of its leadership role in the United Nations, is represented on all organs and virtually all commissions and committees of the United Nations.

The main source of policy guidance and strategical direction for the conduct of U.S. participation in the United Nations is the Department of State.

The chief of mission, who has the rank of ambassador, is the U.S. Representative to the United Nations and also represents the United States in the Security Council. He is assisted by a Deputy Representative, holding ambassadorial rank, who serves as his alternate. The U.S. Representative is also assisted by another Deputy Representative to the Security Council of ambassadorial rank. Other principal officers of the mission include the U.S. Representatives on the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council, both of ambassadorial rank, and the Counselor of Mission having the rank of minister.

The mission has a staff consisting of a number of political, economic, social, financial, and legal advisers, public affairs specialists, and an administrative section. This staff assists

the U.S. Representative in (1) planning the tactical pursuit of U.S. policy objectives in the light of the political, economic, and parliamentary situations in U.N. organs and bodies; (2) consultation, negotiation, and liaison with other delegations and the U.N. Secretariat; (3) preparation of policy recommendations to the Department of State; (4) reporting to the Department of State on consultations and developments in the United Nations; (5) the discharge of the responsibilities of the United States as "host government," in particular those arising from the Headquarters Agreement between the United States and the United Nations (Public Law 357, 80th Cong.) and the International Organizations Immunities Act (Public Law 291, 79th Cong.), which deal *inter alia* with relations of the United Nations, its officials, and delegation members with Federal, State, and local authorities; and (6) administering of all public affairs activities concerning U.S. participation in the United Nations at New York. The administrative section assists the U.S. Representative by (1) planning for and administering conference operations; (2) the provision of necessary research, reference, reporting, communications, and general services; and (3) the administration, personnel management, fiscal, protocol, and security functions of the U.S. mission.

U.S. MISSION AT U.N. EUROPEAN OFFICE IN GENEVA

The United States is represented at the European Office of the United Nations by a permanent mission at Geneva, Switzerland. Under the direction of the U.S. Representative to the European Office of the United Nations and other international organizations, the Geneva mission is responsible for relations with and for observing and reporting on activities in the political and economic field of the United Nations and the specialized agencies located in Geneva. These include the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), the International Labor Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO). In addition, the mission is responsible for relations with and reporting on the activities of other international organizations located in Geneva and for necessary liaison with the missions of other countries accredited to international organizations located in Geneva.

The chief of the mission reports directly to the Secretary of State and the Department of State. Instructions to the mission are sent by the Department of State. The mission works in close coordination with the U.S. Embassies, the U.S. Mission to the European Communities (USEC), and the U.S. Mission to Regional Organizations (USRO).

OTHER U.S. MISSIONS

In addition to the U.S. missions at the U.N. Headquarters in New York and the European Office of the United Nations at Geneva, the United States during 1966 maintained several special missions in order to participate effectively in the work of certain U.N. bodies located elsewhere.

A special U.S. mission, the Office of the U.S. Representative to the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), was maintained in Montreal, Canada, and a U.S. mission to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was maintained at Vienna, Austria, the Agency's headquarters.

In addition, the United States maintained in Paris a liaison group for relations with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and in Rome a similar group responsible for relations with the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO).

United States Representatives

THE UNITED NATIONS

U.S. Representative and Chief of U.S. Mission to the United Nations:
Arthur J. Goldberg

Deputy U.S. Representative and Deputy Representative in the Security Council:
Charles W. Yost (until June 30, 1966)
James M. Nabrit, Jr. (from July 1, 1966)

Deputy U.S. Representative in the Security Council:
James M. Nabrit, Jr. (until June 30, 1966)

U.S. Representative on the Economic and Social Council:
James Roosevelt (until December 15, 1966)

U.S. Representative on the Trusteeship Council:
Eugenie M. Anderson

Counselor of Mission:
Richard F. Pedersen (until April 26, 1966)
Seymour M. Finger (from April 27, 1966)

The General Assembly

TWENTY-FIRST REGULAR SESSION, NEW YORK, N.Y., SEPTEMBER 20-DECEMBER 21, 1966

Representatives:
Dean Rusk [1]
Arthur J. Goldberg
Frank Church
Clifford P. Case
James M. Nabrit, Jr.
William C. Foster

Alternate Representatives:
James Roosevelt
Eugenie M. Anderson
Patricia R. Harris
George L. Killion
Harding F. Bancroft

[1] The Secretary served as Chairman of the Delegation, *ex officio,* during his presence at the session. At other times, Ambassador Goldberg served as Senior Representative.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES AND COMMISSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

U.N. Scientific Advisory Committee (UNSAC)

Representative:
I. Isador Rabi

U.N. Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR)

Representative:
Dr. Richard Hall Chamberlain

Alternate Representative:
Austin M. Brues

Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

Representative:
Eugenie M. Anderson

Alternate Representative:
Richard E. Johnson

Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space

Representative:
Arthur J. Goldberg

Alternate Representatives:
Legal: Leonard C. Meeker
Technical: Arnold W. Frutkin

Committee Established Under General Assembly Resolution 1181 (XII) (Question of Defining Aggression)

(Did not meet in 1966)

Interim Committee of the General Assembly

(Has not met since 1961)

Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations

Representative:
Arthur J. Goldberg

Alternate Representatives:
James M. Nabrit, Jr.
Seymour M. Finger

Collective Measures Committee

This Committee, which has not met since 1954, reports to both the General Assembly and the Security Council.

U.N. Conciliation Commission for Palestine

Representative:
James M. Nabrit, Jr.

Deputy Representative:
John Baker

U.N. Peace Observation Commission

(Did not meet in 1966)

U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) Advisory Commission (Beirut, Lebanon)

Representative:
Dwight Porter
Deputy Representative:
Theodore A. Wahl

Special Committee on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States

Representative:
James M. Nabrit, Jr.
Alternate Representative:
Lawrence Hargrove

Disarmament Commission

The Commission, which reports to both the General Assembly and the Security Council, did not meet in 1966.

Ad Hoc Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies

Representative:
Philip M. Klutznick
Alternate Representatives:
Albert F. Bender, Jr.
Seymour M. Finger
Wilbur H. Ziehl

The Security Council

Representative:
Arthur J. Goldberg
Deputy Representatives:
Charles W. Yost (through June 30, 1966)
James M. Nabrit, Jr. (from July 1, 1966

Military Staff Committee

Representatives:
Navy:
Vice Adm. John S. McCain, Jr., USN
Army:
Lt. Gen. Thomas W. Dunn, USA (detached Jan. 31, 1966)
Lt. Gen. Charles H. Bonesteel III, USA (detached Aug. 31, 1966)
Lt. Gen. John L. Throckmorton, USA
Air Force:
Lt. Gen. James Ferguson, USAF (detached Aug. 31, 1966)
Lt. Gen. Thomas P. Gerrity, USAF

Deputy Representatives:
Navy:
Capt. Arthur H. Warner, Jr., USN
Army:
Col. Clarence F. Nelson, USA
Air Force:
Col. James M. Boyd, USAF

Secretariat:
Capt. Arthur H. Warner, Jr., USN

Disarmament Commission

(See under General Assembly)

Collective Measures Committee

(See under General Assembly)

The Trusteeship Council

Representative:
Eugenie M. Anderson

The Economic and Social Council

Representative:
James Roosevelt
Deputy Representative:
Walter Kotschnig

FUNCTIONAL COMMISSIONS

Human Rights: Morris B. Abram
Narcotic Drugs: Harry J. Anslinger
Population: Dr. Ansley J. Coale
Social: Marjorie McKenzie Lawson
Statistical: Raymond T. Bowman
Status of Women: Gladys Avery Tillett

REGIONAL COMMISSIONS

Africa, Economic Commission for:

(Did not meet in 1966)

Asia and the Far East, Economic Commission for:

22d session (New Delhi, India, Mar. 22–Apr. 4, 1966)
U.S. Representative: Charles W. Yost
Alternative Representatives: Robert Smith, Leonard Weiss

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Europe, Economic Commission for:

21st session (Geneva, Apr. 12–29, 1966)
U.S. Representative:
Eugenie M. Anderson
Alternate Representative:
Henry Brodie

Latin America, Economic Commission for:

(Did not meet in 1966)

UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND

U.S. Representative, Executive Board:
P. Frederick DelliQuadri
Alternate U.S. Representative, Executive Board:
Katherine Bain

THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

Food and Agriculture Organization

U.S. Member, 47th session FAO Council (Rome, Oct. 17–29, 1966):
Dorothy H. Jacobson
Alternate U.S. Representatives FAO Council:
Ralph W. Phillips
Robert Rossow, Jr.
Herbert J. Waters

Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization

3d Extraordinary session of the Assembly (London, Nov. 28–Dec. 2, 1966)
U.S. Representative: William K. Miller
Alternate U.S. Representative: William J. Smith
U.S. Representative to the Council of IMCO (16th and 17th sessions, London, May 16–19 and Nov. 28–Dec. 2, 1966):
William K. Miller

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:
Henry H. Fowler
Alternate U.S. Governor:
Thomas C. Mann
U.S. Executive Director:
Livingston T. Merchant
Alternate U.S. Executive Director:
Bernard Zagorin

International Civil Aviation Organization

U.S. Representative on the Council of ICAO:
Nelson B. David
Alternate U.S. Representative on the Council of ICAO:
John T. Brennan

International Development Association

The Officers, Executive Directors, and Alternates are the same as those of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

International Finance Corporation

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:
Henry H. Fowler
Alternate U.S. Governor:
Thomas C. Mann
U.S. Executive Director:
Livingston T. Merchant
Alternate U.S. Executive Director:
Bernard Zagorin

International Labor Organization

Representative of the Government of the United States to the Governing Body of the ILO:
George L–P Weaver

International Monetary Fund

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:
Henry H. Fowler
Alternate U.S. Governor:
Thomas C. Mann
U.S. Executive Director:
William B. Dale
Alternate U.S. Executive Director:
John S. Hooker

International Telecommunication Union

U.S. Representative, Administrative Council:
Carl W. Loeber (through May 9, 1966)
C. Hoyt Price (from May 10, 1966)

U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

14th General Conference (Paris, Oct. 25–Nov. 30, 1966)
Chairman, U.S. Delegation:
Charles Frankel
U.S. Member Executive Board:
William Benton

Universal Postal Union

U.S. Representative, Executive Council:
William J. Hartigan
Alternate U.S. Representative:
Greever Allan

World Health Organization

19th World Health Assembly (Geneva, May 3–21, 1966)
Chairman, U.S. Delegation:
William H. Stewart
U.S. Representative, Executive Board:
Dr. James Watt
Alternate U.S. Representative:
Dr. Charles L. Williams

World Meteorological Organization

U.S. Permanent Representative:
Robert M. White

OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

International Atomic Energy Agency

U.S. Representative:
Henry DeWolf Smyth
Deputy U.S. Representative:
Verne B. Lewis

Publications and Documentation

U.N. publications include (1) the *Official Records* of the United Nations comprising the proceedings of the General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, Disarmament Commission, and the early U.N. Atomic Energy Commission; important reports and documents submitted to these bodies, and resolutions passed by them; (2) special studies prepared by the U.N. Secretariat describing the work of the Organization or providing data of concern to the United Nations; for example, reports on world economy, human rights, or trust territories; (3) periodicals covering most phases of U.N. work; (4) the *Treaty Series* listing all registered international treaties and signatories thereto.

U.N. publications and audiovisual materials may be purchased from the Sales Section, United Nations, New York, N.Y. Selected material may be obtained from the subagents for the sale of U.N. publications, listed in the following pages. The annual sales catalog, *United Nations Publications,* is available through most subagents.

Distinct from U.N. publications is material put out by each of the specialized agencies. A list of agents for the sale of publications of the specialized agencies follows this explanatory note. Current U.N. publications and documents are described in the monthly *Index to United Nations Documents.*

The mimeographed documents of the various organs of the United Nations may be purchased at annual rates from the Sales Section, United Nations, New York, N.Y.

Reference collections of U.N. publications and documents and the publications of selected specialized agencies may be found at the depository libraries listed on the following pages. Material is also available at many other school and public libraries and in the libraries of private foundations and government agencies concerned with international affairs.

An excellent point of departure for research projects on U.N. activities is the *Yearbook of the United Nations,* an annual publication which summarizes the work of the Organization and its related agencies in all major fields and provides a guide to fuller documentation. The U.N. publication entitled *Everyman's United Nations* (Seventh Edition, October 1964) is a concise handbook of the functions and activities of the United Nations and its related agencies during the period 1945 to the end of 1963.

Material on U.S. policy toward issues before the United Nations may be found in the *Department of State Bulletin,* a weekly publication available in many school and public libraries, which prints the texts of major U.S. statements before the United Nations, selected documents, and interpretive articles on U.N.

affairs. Foreign policy highlights are published biweekly in a State Department periodical, *Foreign Policy Briefs.*

Another very useful document which is submitted to the House of Representatives by the Secretary of State and released as a House document is *U.S. Contributions to International Organizations.* (The latest in this series is the 14th report, 89th Congress, 2d session, House Document No. 455.)

From time to time the Department also issues publications and pamphlets dealing with international organization matters of interest to the United States. A list of publications is available upon request to the Office of Media Services, Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D.C., 20520.

The *Department of State Bulletin* (52 issues: domestic $10, foreign $15, single copy 30¢), *Foreign Policy Briefs* (26 issues: domestic $1.25, foreign $2.25), and all other State Department publications carrying a price line may be purchased from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402. Remittance payable to the Superintendent of Documents should accompany orders.

SALE OF PUBLICATIONS AND VISUAL MATERIALS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

Publications and visual materials of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the World Health Organization may be purchased from the Sales Section, United Nations, New York, N.Y.

Publications of other specialized agencies may be purchased from:

IBRD

Publications Office
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
1818 H Street, NW.
Washington, D.C. 20433

ICAO

International Civil Aviation Organization
International Aviation Building
1080 University Street
Montreal, Canada

IDA

Publications Office
International Development Association
1818 H Street, NW.
Washington, D.C. 20006

IFC

Publications Office
International Finance Office
1818 H Street, NW.
Washington, D.C. 20006

ILO

International Labor Office
917–15th Street, NW.
Washington, D.C. 20005

IMCO

Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization
22 Berners Street
London, W.1., England

IMF

Publications Office
International Monetary Fund
19th and H Streets, NW.
Washington, D.C. 20431

ITU

The General Secretariat
International Telecommunication Union
Place des Nations
Geneva, Switzerland

UNESCO

UNESCO Publications Centre
317 E. 34th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016

UPU

The International Bureau
Universal Postal Union
Schosshaldenstrasse 46
Bern 15, Switzerland

WMO

World Meteorological Organization
Avenue Giuseppe Motta
Geneva, Switzerland

SUBAGENTS IN THE UNITED STATES FOR SALE OF UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS AND VISUAL MATERIALS

California

U.N. Association of Los Angeles
5110 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles, 90036

World Affairs Council of Northern California
421 Powell St.
San Francisco, 94102

Los Angeles World Affairs Council
Mobil Oil Bldg.
612 S. Flower St.
Los Angeles, 90017

Connecticut

World Affairs Center
20 E. State St.
Westport, 06880

Illinois

American Association for the United Nations
59 E. Madison
Chicago, 60603

Chicago Council on Foreign Relations
Pamphlet Center, 116 S. Michigan Ave.
Chicago, 60603

Maryland

UN Association of Maryland
1 W. Mt. Vernon Pl.
Baltimore, 21201

Massachusetts

World Affairs Council
10 Arlington St.
Boston, 02116

UN Information Center
World Affairs Council
105 Newbury St.
Boston, 02116

Minnesota

Minnesota UN Association
208 Times Annex
Minneapolis, 55401

Missouri

St. Louis World Affairs Council
418 Olive St.
St. Louis, 63102

New Hampshire

New Hampshire Council on World Affairs
Commons Bldg.
Durham, 03824

New York

World Affairs Center
Book, Pamphlet and Documents Department
47th St. and U.N. Plaza
New York, 10017

U.S. Committee for one UN
375 Park Ave.
New York, 10022

American Association for the United Nations
345 E. 46th St.
New York, 10017

Ohio

Cincinnati Council on World Affairs
Suite 1028
Dixie Terminal Bldg.
Cincinnati, 45202

Council on World Affairs
601 Rockwell Ave.
Cleveland, 44114

World Affairs Council of Toledo
331 Security Bldg.
Toledo, 43604

Pennsylvania

World Affairs Council of Philadelphia
The John Wanamaker Store
13th and Market Sts.
Philadelphia, 19107

UN Association of Pittsburgh
131 N. Bellefield Ave.
Pittsburgh, 15213

Texas

Dallas Council on World Affairs
2419 Maple Ave.
Dallas, 75201

DEPOSITORY LIBRARIES IN THE UNITED STATES DESIGNATED BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

	UN	ICJ	FAO	ICAO	UNESCO	WHO
California						
University of California General Library Berkeley	x				x	
Los Angeles Public Library Los Angeles	x					
University of California at Los Angeles Los Angeles	x		x		x	
Stanford University Stanford	x					
Colorado						
Denver Public Library Denver	x					
Connecticut						
Yale University New Haven	x		x			
District of Columbia						
Brookings Institution	x					
Pan American Union					x	
Library of Congress	x	x	x	x	x	x
Hawaii						
University of Hawaii Honolulu	x				x	
Illinois						
Library of International Relations Chicago	x	x	x			
University of Chicago Chicago	x				x	
Northwestern University Evanston	x			x		
University of Illinois Urbana	x					
Louisiana						
Louisiana State University Baton Rouge	x	x	x		x	
Maryland						
Johns Hopkins University Baltimore	x		x			
Massachusetts						
World Peace Foundation Boston	x	x				
Harvard University Cambridge	x		x	x	x	
Michigan						
University of Michigan Ann Arbor	x		x			

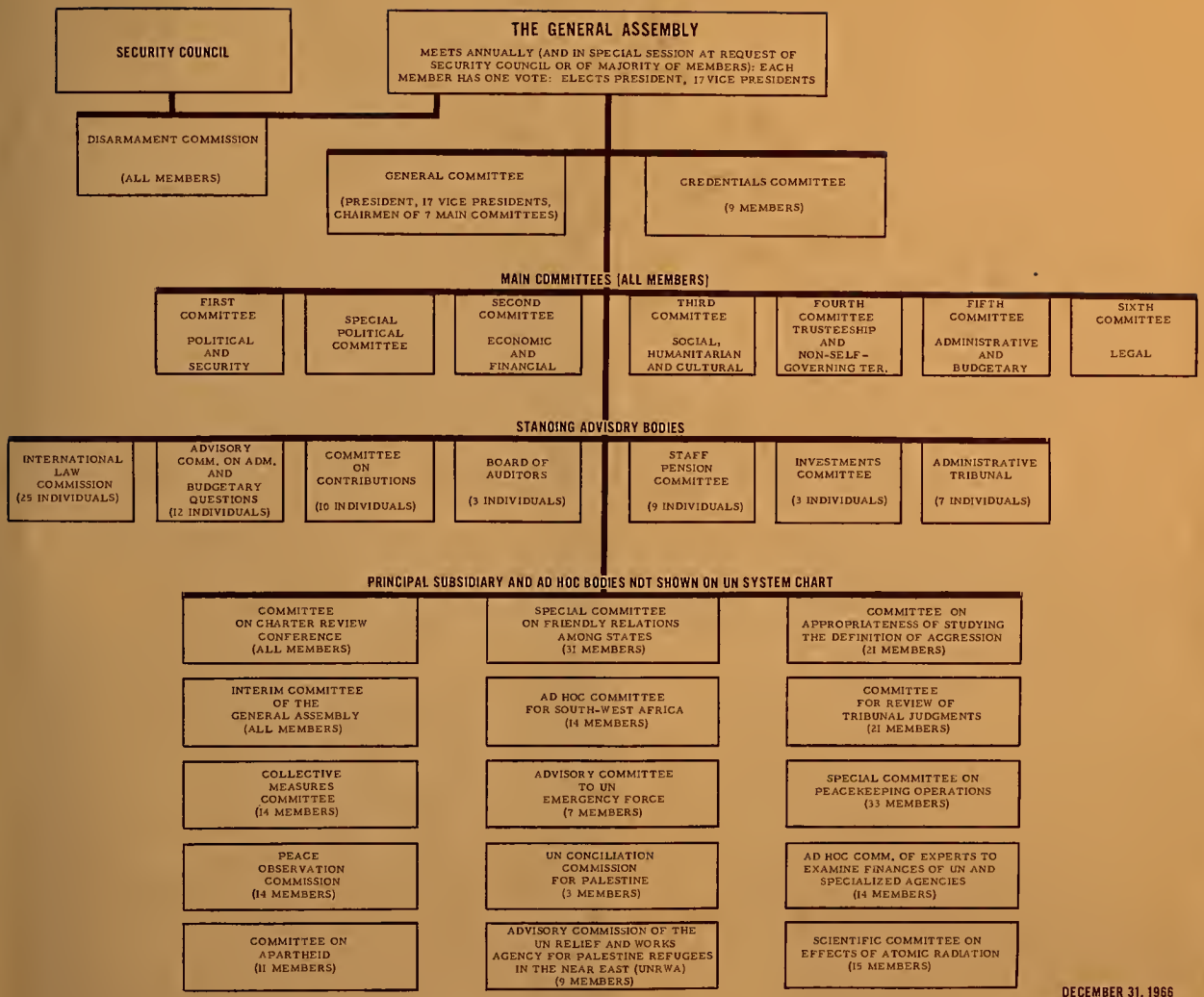
DEPOSITORY LIBRARIES IN THE UNITED STATES DESIGNATED BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES—Continued

	UN	ICJ	FAO	ICAO	UNESCO	WHO
Minnesota						
University of Minnesota Minneapolis	x		x			
Missouri						
St. Louis Public Library St. Louis	x				x	
New Jersey						
Princeton University Princeton	x					
New York						
Cornell University Ithaca	x					
Columbia University Law Library New York	x					
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. New York	x	x				
Institute of Aeronautical Sciences New York				x		
New York Public Library New York	x	x	x	x	x	
New York University New York	x		x			
North Carolina						
Technical Processes						
North Carolina State College Raleigh			x			
University of North Carolina Chapel Hill	x				x	
Ohio						
Cleveland Public Library Cleveland	x				x	
Pennsylvania						
University of Pennsylvania Philadelphia	x					
Rhode Island						
Brown University Providence	x					
Tennessee						
Joint University Libraries Nashville	x		x			
Texas						
University of Texas Austin	x		x		x	
Washington						
University of Washington Seattle	x					

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1967 O - 259-637

THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM

DECEMBER 31, 1966



DECEMBER 31, 1966

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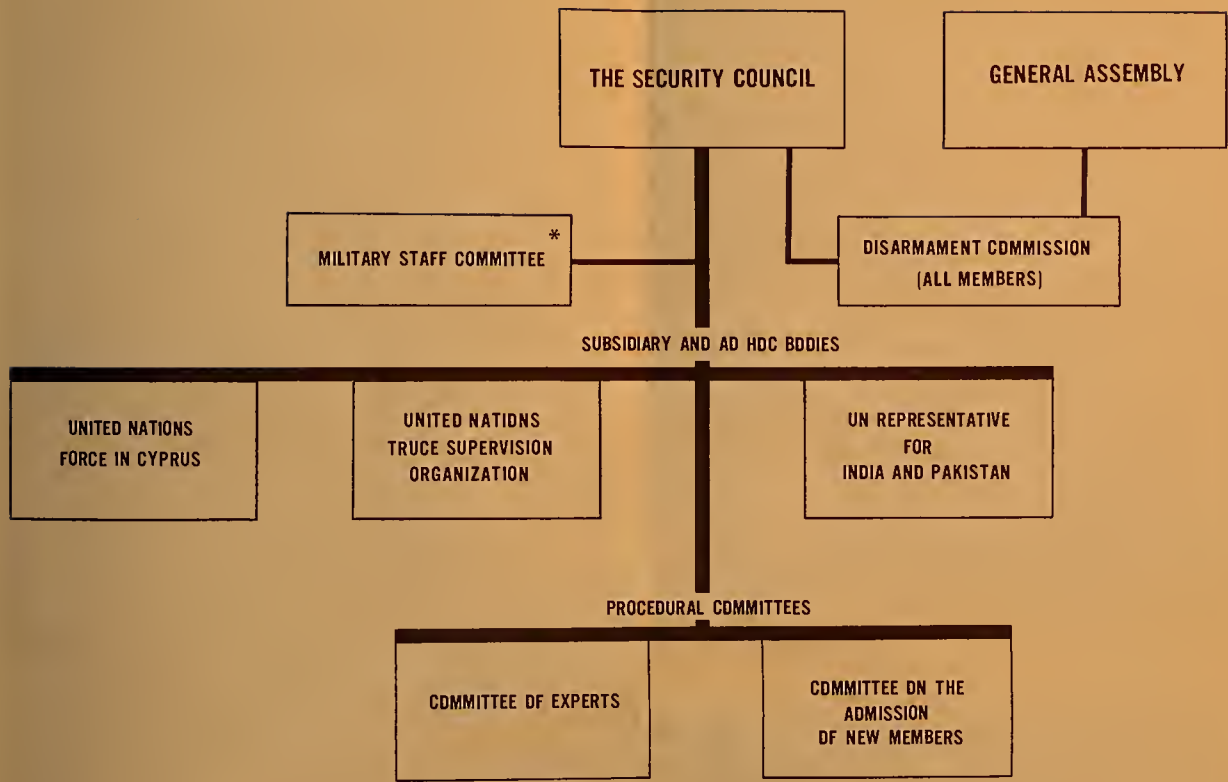

* COMPOSED OF CHIEFS OF STAFF OF THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

DECEMBER 31, 1966

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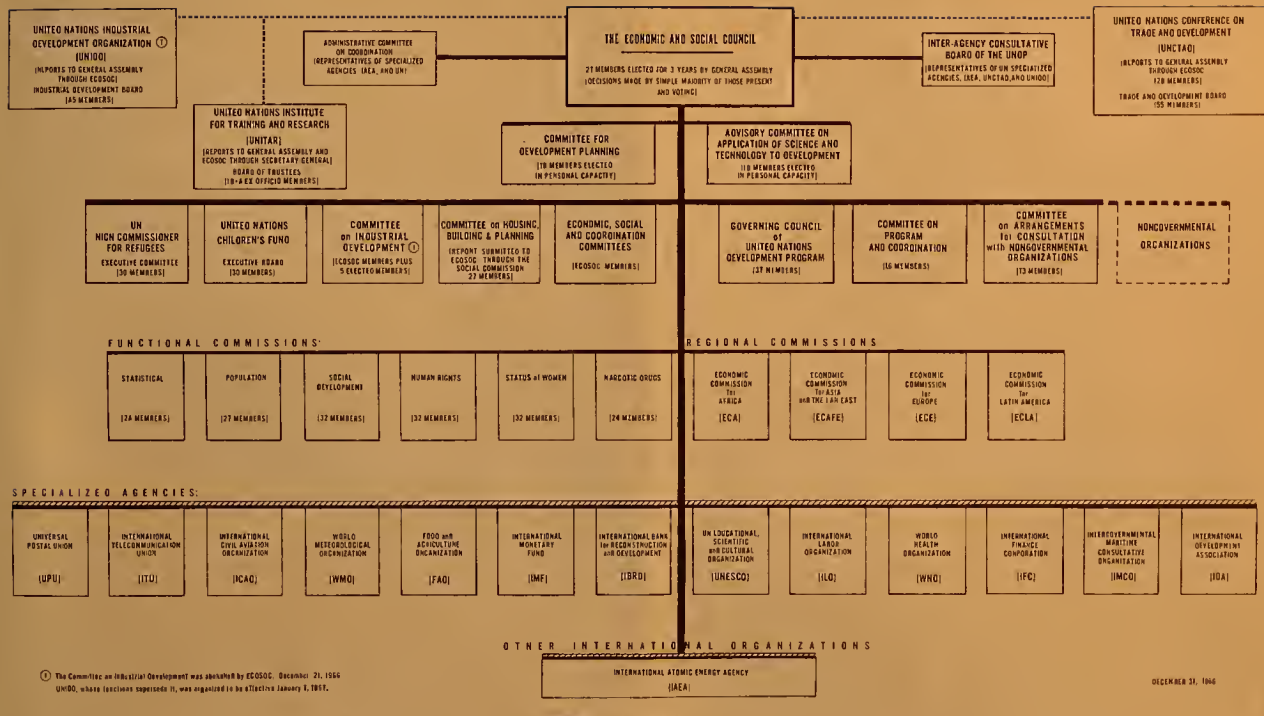
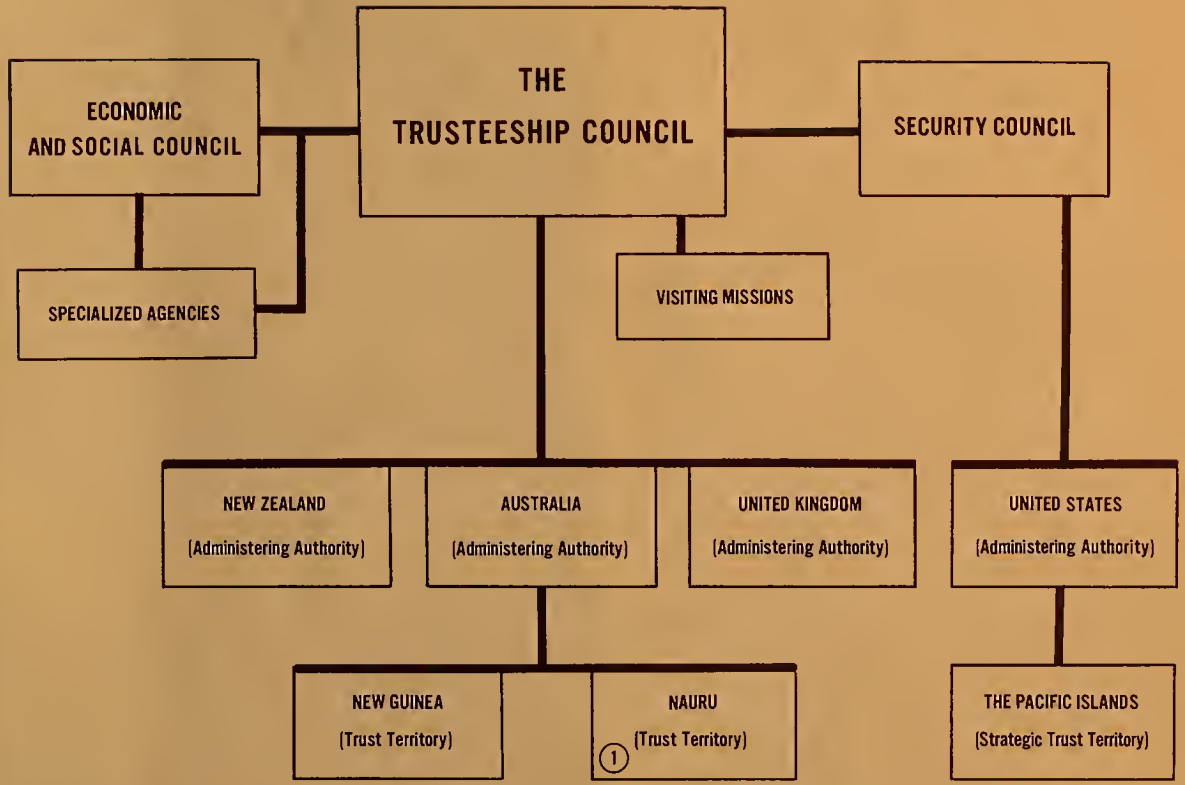
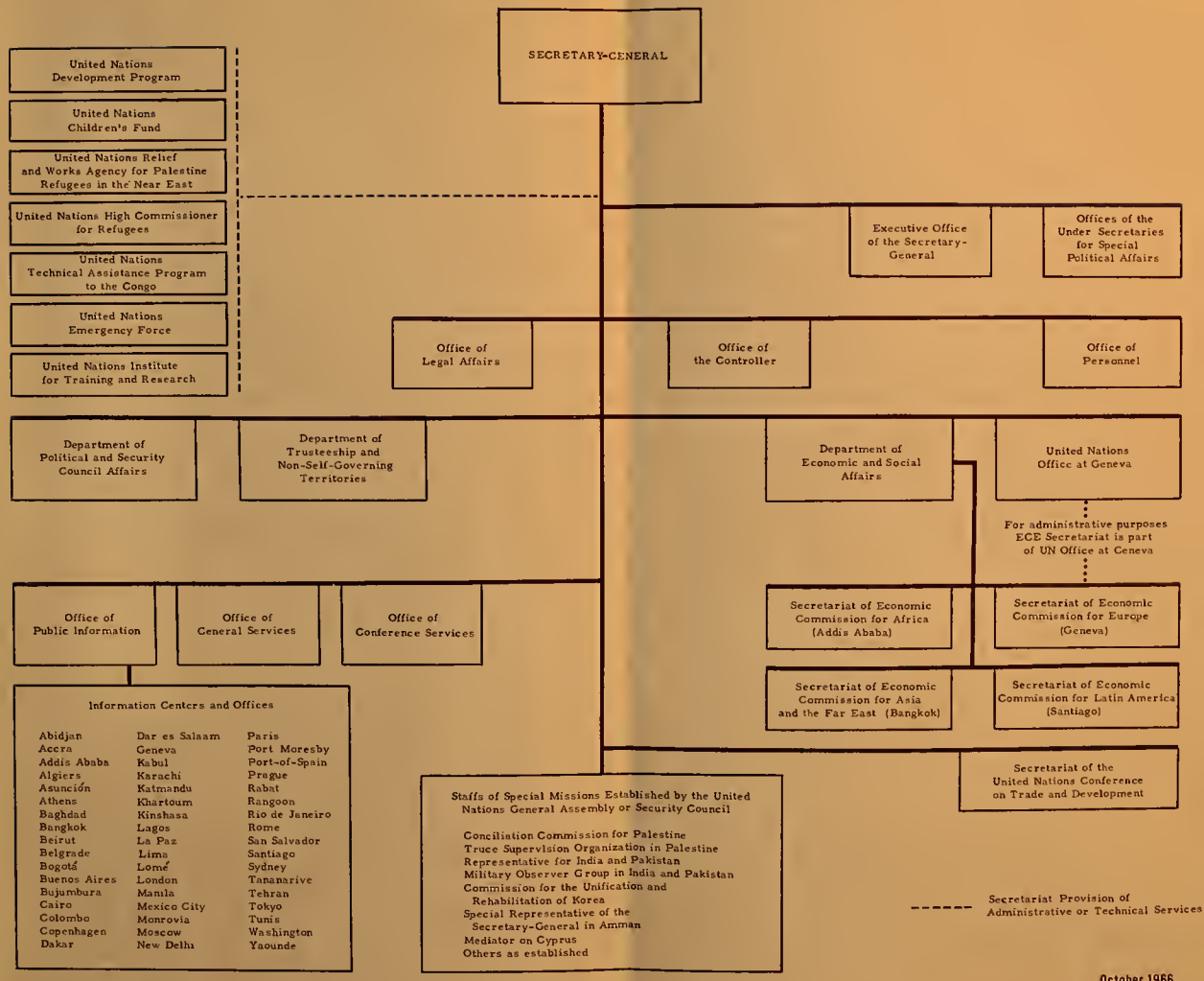

UNITED NATIONS INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION ①
(UNIDO)
(REPORTS TO GENERAL ASSEMBLY THROUGH ECOSOC)
INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BOARD
(45 MEMBERS)
ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE ON COORDINATION
(REPRESENTATIVES OF SPECIALIZED AGENCIES (IAEA, AND UN)
THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL
27 MEMBERS ELECTED FOR 3 YEARS BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY
(DECISIONS MADE BY SIMPLE MAJORITY OF THOSE PRESENT AND VOTING)
INTER-AGENCY CONSULTATIVE BOARD OF THE UNDP
(REPRESENTATIVES OF UN SPECIALIZED AGENCIES, (IAEA, UNCTAD, AND UNIDO))
UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT
(UNCTAD)
(REPORTS TO GENERAL ASSEMBLY THROUGH ECOSOC
(120 MEMBERS)
TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT BOARD
(55 MEMBERS)
UNITED NATIONS INSTITUTE FOR TRAINING AND RESEARCH
(UNITAR)
(REPORTS TO GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND ECOSOC THROUGH SECRETARY GENERAL)
BOARD OF TRUSTEES
(18 + 4 EX OFFICIO MEMBERS)
COMMITTEE FOR DEVELOPMENT PLANNING
(18 MEMBERS ELECTED IN PERSONAL CAPACITY)
ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON APPLICATION OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TO DEVELOPMENT
(18 MEMBERS ELECTED IN PERSONAL CAPACITY)
UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
(30 MEMBERS)
UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND
EXECUTIVE BOARD
(30 MEMBERS)
COMMITTEE on INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT ①
(ECOSOC MEMBERS PLUS 5 ELECTED MEMBERS)
COMMITTEE on HOUSING, BUILDING & PLANNING
(REPORT SUBMITTED TO ECOSOC THROUGH THE SOCIAL COMMISSION
27 MEMBERS)
ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND COORDINATION COMMITTEES
(ECOSOC MEMBERS)
GOVERNING COUNCIL of UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM
(37 MEMBERS)
COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM AND COORDINATION
(16 MEMBERS)
COMMITTEE on ARRANGEMENTS for CONSULTATION WITH NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS
(13 MEMBERS)
NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS
FUNCTIONAL COMMISSIONS:
STATISTICAL
(24 MEMBERS)
POPULATION
(27 MEMBERS)
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
(32 MEMBERS)
HUMAN RIGHTS
(32 MEMBERS)
STATUS of WOMEN
(32 MEMBERS)
NARCOTIC DRUGS
(24 MEMBERS)
REGIONAL COMMISSIONS
ECONOMIC COMMISSION for AFRICA
(ECA)
ECONOMIC COMMISSION for ASIA and THE FAR EAST
(ECAFE)
ECONOMIC COMMISSION for EUROPE
(ECE)
ECONOMIC COMMISSION for LATIN AMERICA
(ECLA)
SPECIALIZED AGENCIES:
UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION
(UPU)
INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION
(ITU)
INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION
(ICAO)
WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION
(WMO)
FOOD and AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION
(FAO)
INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND
(IMF)
INTERNATIONAL BANK for RECONSTRUCTION and DEVELOPMENT
(IBRD)
UN EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC and CULTURAL ORGANIZATION
(UNESCO)
INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION
(ILO)
WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION
(WHO)
INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION
(IFC)
INTERGOVERNMENTAL MARITIME CONSULTATIVE ORGANIZATION
(IMCO)
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION
(IDA)
OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY
(IAEA)
① The Committee on Industrial Development was abolished by ECOSOC. December 21, 1966
UNIDO, whose functions supersede it, was organized to be effective January 1, 1967.
DECEMBER 31, 1966
DIRECTLY DEPENDENT ON ECOSOC
RELATED BY AGREEMENT
CONSULTATIVE STATUS



1 Administered by Australia on behalf of Australia, New Zealand, and United Kingdom as joint administering authorities.

December 31, 1966

THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT



October 1966

1966 PR